

THE **ELECTRICAL WORKER** OFFICIAL JOURNAL

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

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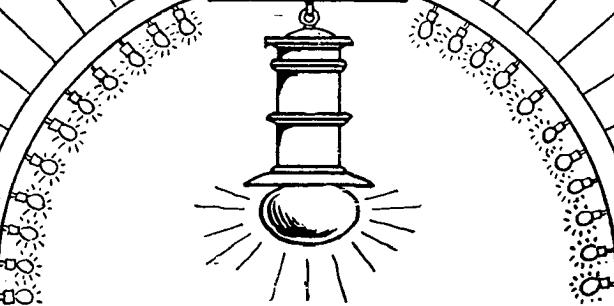
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Editorial

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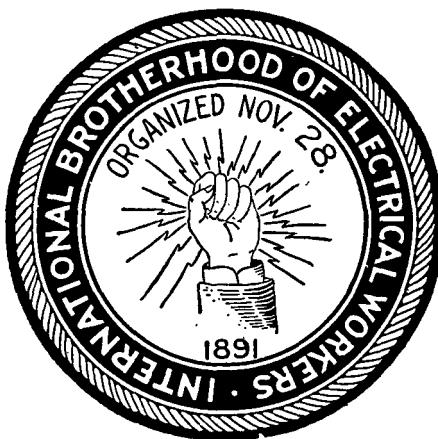
Editorial Notes

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THE ELECTRICAL



WORKER

OFFICIAL JOURNAL
of the
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

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MR. HUNTER'S DILEMMA PROVEN.

BY SAMUEL GOMPERS.

It is with much satisfaction that we print this contribution from the pen of Robert Hunter. Respectable in thought and tone, it brings before the reader such an outline of neo-Marxite creed and policy as we desired to obtain authoritatively when we penned our April article referring to Mr. Hunter's dilemma. We wished to have a sure basis for carefully tracing the main differences in ground work theory and practice which separate the American trade union movement from socialism, or at least that branch of socialism in which Mr. Hunter moves.

We should preface our comments on what Mr. Hunter has written us by saying that the attitude of trade unionism toward socialism in this country is wholly one of self-defense. Our individual members are, and always have been, just as free to vote the socialist ticket as any other. More, they have assisted the socialists as fellow workingmen in the economic struggle for labor on many a stubbornly fought field. The aid, for example, extended to the Western Federation of Miners from the unions of the American Federation of Labor amounted to hundreds of thousands of dollars; the socialist delegates to our annual Federation conventions have uniformly been given a patient hearing; the trade union press has by custom accorded a generous space to socialist correspondents. But, not satisfied with receiving a recognition that if given to either of the old political parties would have caused dangerous dissensions in the trade unions, the socialists have repaid labor's complaisant sympathy with nothing short of fanatical antagonism. From the time of the Detroit convention of 1890, when the socialist political party endeavored to enter the American Federation of Labor as a constituent body, to the present day, our officials, as the consistent defenders of the organic autonomy of American trade unionism and of the political independence of American trade unionists as individuals, with regard to any political party whatever, have been assailed by the bulk of socialist writers

and speakers as outlaws and traitors to the cause of international labor. So far as the socialists could succeed, those officials have been continually put in a false position before the working classes of the world. Our own view on this vital point has been that no political party should have delegates at union conventions, a view backed up invariably by emphatic decision of the membership. The socialists on innumerable occasions have not only endeavored to force their way as a body into the Federation or its branches, and otherwise to commit the trade unions to their doctrines, but as a party they have persistently belittled the work of the American trade unions and sought by means of misrepresentation to weaken the confidence of the members in the leading union spokesmen.

If we now take up the consideration of certain aspects of socialist tactics and doctrines, it is with the purpose of showing that, while both the trade union and political principles of the American Federation of Labor have from the first been clearly defined, firmly established, and reasonably successful within the limits of their political appreciation, the orthodox socialism of Karl Marx has undergone repeated changes, both in practice and theory, which have eventuated in an abandonment of the emphasis once placed on Marx's major doctrines, if not a refutation of the doctrines themselves, and have shifted the aims and struggles of the socialists into the fields of amelioration and opportunism, which have attracted perhaps the mass of socialism's voting supporters at present. As Kampffmeyer, a sound socialist, writes: "The German Social Democracy" * * * "has quietly gone on its way in spite of the points of view of its authorities, such as Engels and Marx."

As to the fifty-seven varieties of socialism other than the Marxite, professed not only by individuals, but by organized groups and—as in the case of Great Britain and France—the majority of socialists in whole countries, we despair compreh-

hending all their variations and shades of policy, just as did the New York Call on a recent occasion (April 12), when, speaking of the British labor party's course in the last campaign, it editorially said, "We made up our minds that we could not understand British politics."

Our comments follow the order in which Mr. Hunter's points occur in his article.

Our "cartoon" really did not depict Marx the Cataclysmist vs. Hunter the Ameliorist any more than it did Marx vs. Marx. Mr. Hunter's dilemma of today was Marx's dilemma half a century ago. Read Mr. Hunter's quotations from the "Manifesto of the Communist party" of 1847 and see what Marx believed was to be the fate of the wage workers. "Deeper and deeper" they were to sing, "pauperism" developing "even more rapidly than population or wealth." This was the logical outcome of Marx's doctrine of "surplus value," which in a nutshell is that "after the laborer has been paid the wage necessary for the subsistence of himself and family, the surplus of his labor is appropriated by the capitalist who exploits it." —(Kirkup.) Marx's "misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation" of the masses are essential factors in the intolerable social conditions which must precede the "bursting asunder" of capitalists; otherwise, neither sudden cataclysm nor gradual revolutionary expropriation, with the radical transition to the co-operative commonwealth, is due. As many a thousand soapboxer has voiced this pivotal point: "Things must be worse before they can be better." This idea is at once the kernel, crux, and culmination of Marxism. Without the progressive impoverishment, degeneration, and hopeless economic enslavement of the masses of workingmen, Marx's "crack o' doom" is causeless, illogical, anti-natural, a devil's miracle.

Once that our present society has gathered momentum in an upward direction, sound reason exists to doubt both Marx's diagnosis that society is inevitably passing through a revolution determined by the laws of materialist evolution and his prophecy of a coming economic order based on "socialized" ownership and operation of the means of production, distribution and exchange—land and capital. Every stage gained in amelioration for the masses, every introduction of an uplifting social principle and process, every remedy established in correcting faulty institutions, every movement of the working class itself that brings to it an increasing share of the wealth produced, every statute that loosens the monopolistic grip of the privileged classes on law-making, on the raw materials of nature, or on those forms of so-called capital which are but legalized tribute capitalized—all such steps picture an accelerating momentum of society in a movement

away from Marx's prophesied necessity for an overturning of the fundamental principles of our existing social order. If Mr. Hunter desires amusement, let him oftener consult the verbal cartoons written by socialists, each against the other, published in the socialist press and orally repeated at their gatherings.

When the foundation of Marx's theories—the idea of surplus value—is demonstrably an error, when, on the contrary, the possibilities for the arrival of the working classes at a general plane that will permit the full development of manhood, become certainties, his ingeniously worked out correlative of this first principle have no more value than the imaginings of any other guesser at probabilities for the future. His time wage system, his co-operative commonwealth, and especially his notions as to religion and the family, then take their place with the fanciful divagations of Jules Verne and H. G. Wells when fashioning their perfect new worlds out of this unlovely old one.

"Sixty years after Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto," Mr. Hunter, you and your school of observers, and we and other working class observers, see the phenomena of social change through different eyes, and, pardon us, through different moods, temperaments, mental media, and psychological conditions, which, of course, are all liable to change. In the end the award of Truth must be to wisdom.

We solemnly assure you, Mr. Hunter, that we have not hitherto heard your news regarding the thousand new great trusts and monopolies. Really, we await confirmation of your announcement of their springing into existence. Our attitude is meantime somewhat skeptical, we candidly admit. One great set of facts, on the contrary, that we have observed, reading them by decades, is that millions of American wage workers now have a shorter workday by several hours than they had thirty years ago, and that the present organization of employing capital has almost wholly eliminated the uncertainty formerly experienced by wage workers for small employers as to getting their pay when due. Constantly increasing wages, on the whole, during the present generation, considerably excelling the rise in average prices meantime, can be shown by the records of the wage scales for the workers, organized and unorganized, in nearly all the occupations now represented by international unions in the American Federation of Labor. The success of the great national movements for the prevention of the employment of young children and the overwork of women are undeniable. The conditions for the education and normal growth of the youth of America never were better than today. Looking over our whole broad

land, there was never a greater proportion of home owners, never a higher level of comfort among America's workers. And it is to be remembered that American labor has had to bear the burden of competition with an immigration that in the last decade has brought to the population a net increase of at least five million laborers, of whom an enormous percentage was totally illiterate, the great majority ignorant of the English language, and nearly all so poor on arrival that a month's idleness would have brought them face to face with starvation. To this class has been mostly due the undermining of American labor in certain industries, the congestion of population in New York, Chicago, and other industrial cities as well as many of the mining centers, and much of the hostility to the American Federation of Labor and much of the increase in whatever is permanent in the American socialist vote. Is it necessary to more than refer Mr. Hunter to the 8,000,000 negroes in the United States, a people only half a century from chattel slavery?

American socialist propagandists, in selecting points for illustration of their doctrines in the changes society has undergone during this era of the world's most rapid evolution, are forced, from time to time, to omit certain items from their bill of indictment as it was formerly drawn up. Twenty to thirty years ago no arraignment of things gone wrong—or right, in accordance with the theory of "surplus value"—was complete without citation of the bonanza farm. Where is it now? And, similarly, the death rate, that sure measure of misery, instead of increasing has steadily decreased. Only three children of the poor die now where five died fifty years ago, and for the trades a continually advancing longevity is shown by the insurance tables.

Mr. Hunter's count of new-born monopolies may be but the record of recently registered corporations. Perhaps he may reject the testimony nowadays offered by corporation managers as to the dissolving ownership of stock. As against the Marx conception of a diminishing group of monopolists devouring year by years all the product of the laborers except that necessary for their bare subsistence, directors assert that every decade shows that the more stable corporations have a vastly increased number of stockholders, indicating a constantly enlarging circle of investors. If it may be assumed that even a third of the savings banks depositors, of the building and loan association members, and of the installment buyers of modest dwellings are wage earners, a general indication of a steady advance toward a higher welfare by a considerable mass is seen in many busy cities of this country. Basing prophecy on certain observed rapidly developing phenomena,

and inspired by American optimism of today rather than by the old world pessimism of Marx's time, which antedated the present aroused public conscience in regard to social justice and the great innovations which the will and ingenuity of man have brought into existence to offset and counteract Marx's materialism, the ordinary man of logical bent in our country may look forward with stout heart to a day not far distant when the indisputably good institutions of existing society shall be supplemented by such functional betterments as shall tend to rectify prevalent economic injustices: Mr. Hunter himself has touched upon one of the newly applied methods—regulation of corporations possessed of franchises. Here, indeed, is encouragement. In Massachusetts this method has advanced with respect to certain classification to the point of close government supervision, with publicity of accounts, stipulation as to service, and restriction of issues of stock. In Wisconsin, where the railroad commission is only fairly settled to work, its reductions in freight and passenger tariffs bring a saving to the people of the State of \$2,000,000 a year. In Los Angeles, regulation of municipal affairs through the initiative and referendum has resulted in ten years to millions of dollars. Railroad regulation, by State and nation, yearly diminishes the "exploitation" of the public by the capitalist directors. The savings of the New York Public Service Commission, to investors and the public, since its institution three years ago, could not be measured by tens of millions of dollars. A concrete example of throwing the machinery of Marx's "surplus value" theory out of working order is shown by the progressive public control over the gas supply of New York City. The citizens of New York of the present generation in their younger days paid \$1.50 per thousand for gas. The legislature arbitrarily reduced the price at one stroke to \$1.25. A few years later, the same governing body directed a gradual reduction—5 cents a year for five years—bringing the price to \$1. Following public agitation, the price has now reached 80 cents. The Court of Appeals and the United States Supreme Court have confirmed this legislative process and settled the principle of a regulation of the prices of public service corporations down to a point only short of confiscation. Here is suggested a line of public reform work for the ameliorative Hunters (and for Marx, himself, were he alive) that would in due course cut the throat of any incipient communistic cooperative commonwealth developing in the present society.

And, pray, Mr. Hunter, in which "powerful chapter" does Marx sketch the transformation that is going on in society "leading to the organization of great

trusts?" Indeed, Marx never had in mind the organization and the operation of the modern trust. He guessed that the capitalists would cut one another's throats and bring about their entire extermination; and yet, despite Marx's guessing, the combinations of capital in the form of modern trusts have absorbed company after company, the losses of one being supported by the profits of another. Does that look like throat-cutting and elimination?

The rectification of economic abuses is also proceeding in Europe rapidly. Wages are rising, having in some regions doubled in twenty-five years; city slums are abolished; protection to the workers in many essentials established; education promoted; life lengthened; governments democratized. Granted, both here and abroad a long road is yet to be traveled before society may reach an ideal condition. But in a general way the right road has been taken, even by the socialists, regardless of the utopianism of their academical theories.

Mr. Hunter's tabulation of the socialist world-vote is simply the quintessence of socialist fallacy and delusion. As a whole, it lacks accuracy much after the fashion of his introductory reference to "the International Trade Union Congress." There is no body such as he names. What exists—the International Secretariat—is a very loose and undefined connection between the organized workers of the countries in his list, established by the coming together six times in the last ten years of a very few of their chief officials—mostly the permanent secretaries—to feel their way to possibly common agreements in practical work for the wage-working class. In the score of delegates present at the last meeting of the Secretaria, in Paris, 1909, the majority came, not as trade unionists, but as socialists, a number being "intellectuals," not qualified to hold trade union cards.

When one acquainted with the real situation looks over Mr. Hunter's table giving the number of socialist voters in the various countries named, it provokes at best a benevolent indulgence toward the original concocters of the figures. True statisticians of the proverbial order! To lump together in the rebellion of the working class foretold by Marx the voters of the British Labor party, the socialists of Germany, the municipal socialists of France, and the miscellaneous socialists of the United States, as examples, is to overlook the widely different motives of the voters for socialist candidates in the parties of the various countries as well as the marked differences in the programs and the causes giving rise to them. "Socialist" is a blanket name in Europe for opposition to privilege, especially hereditary privilege, to the powers of the Church in the State, to the militarism of

the ruling classes, and to the enemies of democracy. In the monarchical countries the only party with which democrats can vote is usually the Social Democracy. The "immediate" platform of the German socialists contains the propositions that have the vitality of attractiveness for thousands of voters who could never be held by the theoretical platform itself, which current events keep in the background. And so in other countries, it is the immediate platform that catches the votes, and the variations in the demands made in the different kingdoms mark off the field in which the fight of manhood versus privilege must at present take place in each. In nearly all European countries the political demands of the democracy are for rights which in the United States already exist in our statutes and from the first have been proclaimed as American principles. Mr. Hunter is quite capable of discriminating between this statement and the one commonly ascribed by socialists to us, viz: that "all rights are secure to Americans." The fact is, no rights are secure on this earth without the men to maintain them. As we have repeatedly said, did we live in Germany, Italy, Austria, or indeed under any of the Continental monarchies, our place for the time being would be found with the democracy, whatever might be the rest of its tag or whatever the tendency of its harmlessly remote alleged aims.

But of all the misinformation contained in Mr. Hunter's article, including his table of figures, none is more inaccurate than his assertion that in the United States there are no members of Congress who are union men. Will the following list of union members in Congress be in any way illuminating?

Wm. B. Wilson.
W. J. Cary.
James T. McDermott.
T. D. Nichols.
Carl C. Anderson.
Isaac R. Sherwood.
Arthur P. Murphy.
John A. Martin.
Wm. D. Jamieson.
Wm. Hughes.

The last named holding an honorary card of membership, all the others being members in good standing of the bona fide unions of their respective trades. In addition, it may be said that there are quite a number of members of Congress who, although non-members of organized labor, stand as truly for real industrial, social and moral progress as does any representative in the parliaments of the old world, regardless of the party to which they may owe affiliation.

Perhaps it would not be uninteresting to call Mr. Hunter's attention to the fact that after all the most effective legisla-

tion dealing with the rights of the citizen and the industrial and social welfare of the people is vested in the various State legislatures of our country, and although representation of labor in the legislatures as well as in Congress is far from that which is desired, yet it would tire one's patience to read, as well as occupy too much space to record here, the very large number of labor representatives in the various legislatures of the United States. If progressive legislation affecting the interests of the masses is to be taken into account, and it is essential to a proper understanding of the subject, we commend Mr. Hunter and others to investigate the enactments of the State legislatures within the past twenty-five years. He will find that it has been concurrent with the growth of the organized labor movement of our country.

As to the present general revolt of the masses in Europe, it had been prophesied in America without the aid of Marx from the day our Republic began throwing the light of the degree of democracy we have upon the rest of the civilized world. As to equal economic rights, our government has recognized the principle in a fundamental direction ever since the homestead law prevented the sale of our public lands and parceled them out free among the workers. America has been the liberal debating ground for innovative ideas. It has even been claimed that Marx's socialism was originated here long before Marx.

Of Marx and Engels (writings of 1847, 1867 and 1875), Mr. Hunter says admiringly: "With their marvelous gift of foresight and generalization they were predicting the outcome of certain tendencies of the capitalist age." Nay, brother! that "marvelous gift of foresight and generalization" and those predictions amounted to nothing more than Marx's assimilation of the views of men calling themselves socialists who, before Marx began to write, had in several countries advanced the principal points that Marx with huge literary labor, oracularly enunciated in the bulky volumes of his "Capital." For proof of this fact we need quote from early American socialist authors only, all predecessors of Marx.

For example, both the notion of "surplus value," familiar to economists (as he himself says) for fifty years before Marx elaborated it in "Capital" (1867), and Marx's theory of the causes of crises found place in Parke Godwin's "Democracy, Pacific and Constructive" (New York: 1844). Here are some of Godwin's phrases: "Capital is more and more concentrated in the hands of the few, who are thus forming an oppressive Money-Feudalism." "The condition of laborers is rapidly deteriorating." "The working classes, who in a majority everywhere, by the present system of blind competi-

tion, are picking each other's pockets and cutting each other's throats." "Blind competition tends to the formation of gigantic monopolies in every branch of labor." "The few rich are becoming more and more rich, the unnumbered many are becoming poorer." Godwin also refers to "one of those periodical crises of failure and ruin which are the unavoidable attendants of our methods of loose competition."

Marx's description of the varying forms of working class slavery evolved in the course of history is to be found in Albert Brisbane's "Social Destiny of Man" (Philadelphia: 1840). Speaking of the present system of incoherent labor, Brisbane once said of the laboring classes: "At one time we see them pariahs, at another slaves, at another serfs." "Individual slavery, as it universally existed in antiquity, has been changed and replaced by the collective servitude of the masses in modern times." From their "calamities" the working classes could "only escape by the invention and organization of association and combined industry." Orestes A. Brownson, one of the founders of the New York Workingmen's Party (1828-1832) wrote in 1844: "The industrial system which has transformed the serf into the operative and prepared the way for modern feudalism, which we insist is no advance on the feudalism of the Middle Ages, is beginning to attract the attention not only of radicals and socialists, but of politicians and statesmen. Its effects in reducing labor to a state of complete servitude to capital, and therefore the operative to the proprietor, is beginning to be seen and to be felt in the unspeakable misery and distress of the laboring classes. * * * The present economical system * * * places labor at the mercy of capital, and every increase of wealth on the part of the few is attended by a more than corresponding increase of poverty and distress on the part of the many." L. Byllesby, "Sources and Effects of Unequal Wealth" (New York: 1826), forty years before Marx, declared the "absolute necessity for the revision of the present system" and held that "labor alone is the source of wealth." Horace Greeley in 1846 wrote of capital "luxuriating on the products of the very labor that is now palsied and suffering. Under the present system, capital is everything, man nothing, except as a means of accumulating capital." "There is need of a new social system." In 1851 Greeley said: "Let the State but decree, 'There shall be work for every one who will do it, but no subsistence in pauper idleness for any save the incapable of working—and all will be transformed.' Thomas Skidmore, in "The Rights of Man to Property" (New York: 1829), called on the poor to appropriate "the cotton factories, the woolen factories, the iron foundries, the

rolling mills, houses, churches, ships, goods, steamboats, fields of agriculture, etc." A Marxite socialist New York editor, twenty years ago writing a review of the above quoted American authors, declared, referring especially to the last named: "There is no German socialism. It is 'pure and simple' American socialism formulated and published in New York City by an American, when Karl Marx was eleven years of age and Ferdinand Lassalle was a child of four."

From this opinion Mr. Hunter may find reasons for dissenting, but our citations must show him that the raw material of what is now known as Marxism was breathed in the common air decades before Marx exercised his "marvelous gift of foresight."

The day that Marx advocated that the workers should use their political power to wrest all capital from the capitalist class "by degrees" he turned anti-Marx. It was then he began to break out of his egg-shell. His theories took another tack. His altered mental course brought him in a direction the end of which was not seen by the aid of the marvelous foresight with which Mr. Hunter invests him. But commonplace hindsight today can record the epoch-making occasions upon which the Marxite party quit Marx the buster of the present social system and joined Marx the improver of the present social system. The very reading of the chapter head in Paul Kampffmeyer's "Changes in the Theory and Tactics of the (German) Social Democracy" suggests a convincing story of an about-face movement totally inconsistent with the party's original theories and tactics. Liebknecht's views in '97, with their happy rhetorical climax relative to the egg shells, quoted both by Mr. Hunter and Kampffmeyer, presaged a final abandonment of belief either in an unavoidable deepening impoverishment of the workers or in an imperative necessity for the future society imagined by Marx. The prophet's co-operative commonwealth is no more in the inevitable nature of things than Frankenstein's creation was an indispensable improvement in the nature and being of man.

Opposition to the "capitalist regime" within the world's area covered by the modern industrial system has not only called into being ten or more million trade unionists, five or more million voluntary co-operators, and eight or more million radical democratic voters, but it has contributed a mite of thought besides Marx's to the illumination of sociology. One point to be seen clearly by the wage workers is that all production under the present economic system is by no means also under the "capitalist regime." Says an American socialist writer:

"One is a capitalist only if the means of production owned by him are operated,

not by himself, exclusively, but by employees; and he can fill that capitalist role only when there are, ready to his hand, human beings who need just such means of production as he owns, and who are stripped of the opportunity to acquire them. The system under which this combination of circumstances is found is 'capitalism.'"

Marx himself, in the last chapters of the second volume of his "Capital," demonstrated that at the time of his writing capitalism had not been established in agricultural America and Australia. Those who consumed their own product from their own land were free from the exploitation of capitalism. Trade unionists, also, are obviously free from capitalism to the extent that they are not "ready to the hand" of the capitalists, obliged by fear of starvation to accede to his terms. The remarkable progress of co-operation in Europe is accompanied by a steady withdrawal in great measure of large bodies of workingmen from the servitude of capitalism. The votes of courageous and honest citizens in all civilized lands are cutting away the capitalistic powers of privilege to lay tribute on the producers. Capitalism as a surviving form of feudalism—the power to deprive the laborer of his product—gives signs of expiring, to leave the laborer and possessor of his just share of capital as one person living under a state exerting a minimum of interference with the citizen while giving full recognition to the present fundamental institutions of government—liberty and property.

The Italian New York daily newspaper we quoted is Marxite socialist. But if Mr. Hunter is not satisfied as to the genuineness of its Marxite principles, we can quote many columns of condemnation of alleged socialist, but really petit bourgeois platforms (especially that which won in Milwaukee) from an English New York socialist daily newspaper of unassailable standing as a national organ of the Marxite party—or a wing of the party, or one of the parties, whichever is the correct term: we outsiders are apt to get confused in endeavoring to follow the nice shades of relationship in the socialist happy family.

Mr. Hunter's reference to the socialists helping "to build up the great trade union movement" brings us to say, "Heaven help us from such friends." A record of the sort of help given the American Federation of Labor for the last twenty years has been made up by an American trade unionist from documents kept at our headquarters. We send a copy of it to Mr. Hunter, with our compliments. He will find by it that on this point he has been deplorably in error. History contradicts his own kindly impulses.

In conclusion, Mr. Hunter, we must repeat to you, what we said in our editorial

article that elicited your reply, that you—and the Marxites in general—ought to allow your reason to tell you that your own acts as social reformers have broken down the line of argument on which Marx grounded his prophecy of insupportable misery giving birth to the artificial system of society he taxed his ingenuity in manufacturing. Your intellect ought to enable you to see that your ameliorative socialists are actually strengthening the foundations of the present system of society. You are by your acts, in accordance with your immediate platforms, assisting in purifying its institutions. So long as you really teach the value of education, of personal thrift, voluntary co-operative effort, organized self-help, the defense of political rights, the merits of a thoroughgoing democracy, the benefits of good administration, and the abolition of economic privilege, you are assisting in demolishing Marx's socialism.

In the uplift work, the American trade union movement, particularly as represented by the American Federation of Labor, is recognized as one of the potential means of securing for the workers their rights, protecting them against injustice, putting them in touch with the best thought and most advanced movements and ethical forces of civilization. The labor movement has improved and is constantly improving the standard of life, uprooting ignorance and fostering education, instilling character, manhood, an independent spirit and activity among our people, and a recognition of the interdependence of man upon his fellow man, not only on the American continent, but the wide world over. Organized labor has largely established a normal workday and is making it more general. It has taken children from the factory and workshop

and given them the opportunities of the school, the dwelling and the playground. In a word, our unions lighten toil, educate their members and the world of workers, make their homes more cheerful, and in every way contribute an earnest effort toward making life the better worth living. Through these methods the organized labor movement undertakes constantly to give new meaning to life, progress, and civilization.

Our motive in discussing our differences with you, Brother Hunter, is to make the policy of the American labor movement clear to all who wish to read. With respect to the socialists, the two principles which have been followed by the trade unionists are unchangeable: First, the unions will not consent to be committed to any political party; will not have political delegates in their conventions. Secondly, whether by passing resolutions or simply by acting on personal sympathies, that political party will surely attract the wageworkers which offers them the fewest rosy but dubious dreams for the future and the greatest number of opportunities to exercise their full rights as men and to secure the results of their toil, now.

Mr. Hunter, the time may be at hand for you socialists to make another little change or two. You may be able to play at turning back the clock, but you can't turn back time itself. You should acknowledge yourself opportunists at present to the extent of nine-tenths, and hide the other little tenth, your universal slave-pen co-operative commonwealth, far back on the shelf among the unessentials to economic justice, where the wise ones among you keep Marx's "frank and avowed materialism" and Bebel's "Woman."

HOW MANY AMERICANS ARE POSSIBLE CO-OPERATORS?

BY J. W. SULLIVAN.

The British co-operative movement has as its first principle commercial equity. The mainstay in the practical application of this principle is in the division of the dividends.

To an individual who himself sets up and conducts a business, it usually seems just and natural that profits should accrue from it and that he himself should take them. To true co-operators, on the contrary, it seems just and natural that there should be no profits in business, and it is a truth that in co-operation, carried to the point of ideal purity, there are none.

Co-operation, on the British system, is

a consumers' movement. A body of customers, organized to conduct a business, usually a store, acting through a committee from among their membership, reverse the order of the processes in ordinary private enterprises. First, they themselves supply the working capital, in small shares; then they hire, direct, and supervise the manager and his assistants; they decide upon what commodities their store shall have in stock for sale; they take the risk of experiments; they sell only to shareholders; they reach out for new customers—that is, new members, who also become shareholders and pur-

chasers from the store. At stated periods, usually once in three months, the co-operators divide the net cash surplus that has accumulated from their sales over the sum of all the costs. Each shareholder's dividend is in proportion to the amount of his purchases during the quarter.

No profits! But there is a dividend. What is it? In a purely co-operative store—the point is to be kept in mind—sales are made only to shareholders. Prices are not fixed beyond the total cost of the stock (wholesale rate, interest, rent, taxes, light, heat, salaries, etc.), with the object of profits from the purchasers, but simply to form a guaranty against loss. Sales are actually a division among the owners, in small lots, of commodities bought through their working capital, in large lots. Then if there remains a net balance over the total cost it is but a surplus from the advances in cash made by the members when buying at retail. At the time of making any purchase the co-operator has paid something more than its cost, and therefore the only equitable mode of division of the surplus must be in proportion to the amount of his purchases in value. His dividend evidently is not profits, but the completion of a full return to him, in goods and money, for his advances. With the permanent working capital, on which current interest is paid, the transactions of the store are indefinitely repeated.

The dividend is savings through co-operation. As such, it promotes thrift. Its distribution is a stimulus to participants in the co-operative movement. But the highest satisfaction in co-operation is its combination of equity with business. Here is a principle embodying the possibilities of a social revolution. Merely to understand the principle, and to see it in practice, brings about a moral revolution in the individual observer who has been taught in the common experiences of life to regard business as a grab and a gamble.

* * *

The development of co-operation as now carried on in Great Britain is the story of the Rochdale Pioneers' Society repeated many hundred times—adoption of the correct principle, small beginnings, a steady growth.

In 1844 twenty-eight poor Rochdale weavers on strike started subscribing three-pence a week apiece toward the capital to start a co-operative store. When their number had reached forty and their capital £28 (\$140), they hired a small room and "stocked it with those things which were most necessary." "So meagre was the stock, so dimly lighted the store, that they felt ashamed to take down the shutters."

The men of that little band were in the

most humble rank of wageworkers. The leading citizens of their community would never have dreamed of placing any of them in a position of public responsibility. But in their discussions as to how they might conduct their co-operative store honestly, they decided to include in their rules certain perfectly fair, if not wholly new, ideas. The principal of these, put into immediate practice, were "the customers to be the sole proprietors" and "dividends in proportion to purchases." Financially and morally, these ideas have proven the soundest that ever gave backbone to a business system. That original Rochdale society has today 15,000 members, and its annual trade now amounts to \$1,500,000, and its dividend to \$250,000.

In the British Isles there are now 1,967 distributive, 243 productive, and two wholesale co-operative societies on the Rochdale plan. Springing from the same movement, ten special co-operative organizations deal in insurance, allotments, small holdings, motor service, cottage buildings, etc. The total number of all the shareholding members, as given in last year's report, is 2,679,805. As one member may buy for a family, the individuals thus represented are ten millions, one-fourth the population.

Other statistics: Share capital, \$166,224,900; annual sales, \$537,853,270; sinking reserve fund, \$20,426,675; interest on share capital, \$7,006,705; dividends, \$58,643,235; weekly average savings to the body of members, \$1,127,754; weekly increase of trade (in year of depression), \$176,245. Stocks of goods in hand, \$57,964,715; land, buildings, etc., \$79,531,095; house property, \$37,743,390; other investments, \$80,038,425. Aggregate expenditure on salaries, wages and establishment charges exceeded \$45,000,000. Number of employees, more than 100,000.

The British co-operators own steamships and other vessels by the score and railway freight cars by the hundred. They have purchasing agencies in most of the principal cities of the world; they buy in advance crops of hundreds or even thousands of acres—tea and coffee in the Orient, fruits in the Continental countries and wheat in California.

Within the last twenty years, and with increasing rapidity the last ten, the British system of co-operation has had a remarkable development throughout the European continent. In Germany there are almost as many co-operators as in Great Britain; in Italy, France and the Scandinavian countries are hundreds of thousands of members, and even in Austria, Hungary and Russia are numerous flourishing societies, mostly in the towns and cities. The co-operators of all countries are united in the International Co-operative Alliance.

But, however wonderful the story that statistics reveal of its financial benefits, the proven moral merits of co-operation surpass that story in social value. Co-operation has supplanted the Napoleons of commerce by a democracy. It has shown how the people can do for themselves—originate business, quicken trade, attract custom, employ talent, eliminate the wastes of an unnecessary competition, and withal declare dividends. It gives its committeemen opportunity for rendering a public service. It is not in politics. It asks no privileges. It seeks no interference with other people through force of the law. It leaves free every opportunity for talent and enterprise outside its societies. It teaches dreamers their impracticabilities, tries out reformers, promotes among members a neighborly feeling. It lifts the mass; not the stock gamblers, or produce-exchange market riggers, or shrewd advertisers. Every co-operator is a partner, equal to any other. All vote on every question arising at the society's meetings. Co-operation reduces the number of middlemen, abolishes their successive profits, cuts loose from over-advertising, and suppresses the vulgar puffery of alleged business geniuses. It effectually does away with the idea that there is any foresight in management, talent in preparation, or skill in catering to the public—not associated with dishonesty—beyond the powers of a group of ordinary men. It brings to light the enormous reserve of varied mental and moral force in the wageworking classes which never comes into play in establishments dominated by a firm or an individual. It contradicts the assertion, "Poor and therefore weak." It offers convincing evidence that capital and labor are not essentially antagonistic, since within the co-operative organization both are the agents and possession of the working people themselves. Co-operation changes the psychological attitude of men toward one another; for within a co-operative body mutual help replaces mutual hostility.

Every co-operative society creates a social, educational and recreative centre for a working class community. The co-operative halls of Great Britain are hospitable to every speaker with a promising idea, to ambitious youth seeking mental growth, to free speech, liberty of thought, and all reasonable innovation. A co-operative society must needs have the saving grace of self-preservation; for, just as its members prevent the adulteration of the food they sell themselves, prohibit misrepresentation of goods, and enforce a one-price rule, they conserve public decency, avoid extremes, and otherwise exercise common sense in their toleration of the ideas introduced at their assemblies.

All true! Most true—of co-operation across seas. And what of America?

He who tells the truth as to co-operation in America performs a public service.

The United States has so little co-operation that what exists does not constitute a movement. It is to be doubted that, apart from fraternal insurance, and some farmers' purchasing associations, there are a score of genuine co-operative societies in the entire country. The various systems commonly styled co-operative may respectively possess financial advantages for their own members, but in nearly all cases they have as a chief aim simply business profits. The co-operative building and loan association is a joint stock bank, the larger share of profits often going to the non-borrowing shareholders. The co-operative dairy is a productive enterprise for profits, its sociological feature being ownership in many hands instead of a few. Co-operative irrigation is gang labor for a division of wages, with, naturally, a compulsory joint management of one of the main supplies in what is a private business. Co-operative fruit-selling is especially profitable to participants as against consumers when conducted as in New York by the market-manipulating representatives of Pacific coast products. Co-operative telephone, baking, butchering, and factory ventures are quite uniformly nothing more than joint stock affairs, the shares held in small denominations—by perhaps many persons in the beginning, but by a few in the end. Of all such "co-operation" it is to be said that, while the benefits of their profits may for a time go to a larger circle of persons than if only a few men were the owners, to employ the word co-operation to designate them is to cause the term to lose its specific and definite and ethical meaning.

* * *

There has been much effort for a long time to set up a co-operative movement in the United States. Every decade since the 1840's has seen at least one big enthusiastic wave for co-operation pass over the country. No need to recount these movements here. The records of their rise and fall may be looked up in any public library. The failures of so-called co-operation in this country have been so numerous and regular that, with the mass of wage-workers and our general public alike, the whole co-operative scheme as a social reform is in disrepute.

Why should this be so?

This query poses a world problem. The reply, as a matter of course, is to be given, indefinitely and comprehensively, in the assertion that conditions in America are different from conditions in Europe. But, what are the most salient points of the conditions in America bearing unfavorably on co-operation?

I submit that first of all is a factor in our general social situation which, though to a much less extent, has its counterpart in Great Britain. In Great Britain are social strata, at top and bottom, in which co-operation is almost wholly non-existent. Among the people in easy circumstances the number of co-operators is hardly a sprinkling; among the submerged tenth and the very poor menaced by submersion the proportion is equally small. Co-operation has its strong-hold almost entirely among the artisans, the well-paid and regularly employed laborers, and the social elements similarly situated in general to these. Collectively, the very poor have neither the moral fibre nor the savings to set up and maintain by cash payments a co-operative store. As a class, the well-to-do find it more to their satisfaction to exercise their choice or whim in dealing with miscellaneous private traders than to pin themselves down to co-operation. They order their household supplies through servants; they buy their luxuries in various cities or even countries; as purchasers they come and go; their vanity might hinder them from confessing the economies expressed in dealing at a co-operative store. Besides, they can find opportunities to employ their extra capital in ventures that pay better than co-operation. They want profits. Their point of view is generally shared by the business and professional classes, down to the pettiest salesmen, the penniless educated hangers-on to aristocracy, and the meanest of poor relatives living in expectation of inheritance or preferment.

In taking a broad view of society in the United States we see that financially a considerable class of our wage and salary workers are on a level with those professional and business people who are regarded as in quite easy circumstances in Great Britain. They exhibit this fact in their habits as to saving, individual initiative and aiming at personal satisfactions.

Note these contrasts: The British co-operator, in buying at his store, saves ha'pennies; as a type, the American wage or salary worker doesn't trouble much to save nickels, or perhaps even dimes. The customers of a co-operative store commonly buy in person and carry home their purchases; American stores, even in country towns, have delivery wagons, and many housekeepers won't take the time to go to the store to buy. A large proportion in our American classes corresponding to the British co-operators have too much money, too much hope, too much false pride, too many diversions, too many ambitions, to be pushed to the point of trying to co-operate to save a bootblack fee. The monopolistic but virtuous key,

to co-operation is a copper ha'penny; the typical American workingman's purse is lined with gold or silver—or he expects it to be.

And here is another set of contrasts: Outside a few large cities, the usual first investment of a thrifty American wage-worker's savings is in a home of his own. A building and loan association in permanent operation, a comparatively low price for his homesite, a wide choice in location (today through the suburban electric line), and cheapness and facility in transferral of land ownership—in all these points lie advantages incomparably better than are usual in Great Britain. They invite the savings of dollars instead of shillings, and the American standard of wages often yields the necessary dollars to the man hungering for the independence to be found under his own roof. The immediate inducements of a co-operative store are far less to the individual with a few hundred dollars than an investment for himself in a town lot charged with the potentialities of unearned increment.

Here is a very great contrast: In America, to the outdoor man who has health, sturdy character, and even small means, it has always been possible to turn to the soil for a living. Besides, occupancy of acres has even in this country its brilliant promise of speculative value. And a bit of suburban real estate on the installment plan has collected many a hard-earned dollar from the American wage-earner. In all Europe, the black line in a diagram of expenditures representing this item of working class venture would not equal in its length the slim breadth of an exclamation mark.

And another contrast: In Great Britain, the President of the General Federation of Trades Unions at its congress last year at Blackpool reported that not one strike for higher wages or any other demand from the workers represented in the organization had taken place in the twelve-month just closed. All the labor disputes had been consequent on lockouts or demands for reductions by employers. On the other hand, in America the organized workers keep themselves ever ready to push wages upward. The results have been worth the risks. The promise in a trade union leaves the promise from a co-operative store secondary. Thrifty union members hold their extra money safe to fall back on during strikes. Otherwise, they may use some of it at times traveling over our continent to seek better jobs, or even to enter into business. Little of this among our British brethren. Imprisoned, as to space, as to opportunity for access to the soil or for change in occupation, or as to means of taking an increased share in production, their unionism is less militant than ours.

In the great cities and the large industrial and mining communities of America a serious obstacle to co-operation is heterogeneity of population. The people of different nationalities are separated into colonies. The fusing in the melting-pot has not yet brought neighbors or different race and language to the point of mutual confidence. In Europe the "proletariat" of each nation has its traditional "solidarity."

In Europe the classes that make up the co-operative movement are comparatively stay-at-homes. A man may live in the same town or the same street as did his great grandfather. In America the artisan follows up attractive prospects from place to place. "Transition gives rise to chance."

In Europe, also, movement from one financial level to another comes in the career of only a small percentage. In America, nearly all workingmen have a hope of betterment; many do get ahead. Constant and rapid changes in methods, machinery, and business organization send men up and down at a rate rarely equaled in other countries. The possibilities of getting at some of our enormous annual production of wealth allure all who are alive to risk chances. Then why should the strong and capable anchor themselves for a slow struggle for petty economies in companionship with tuppenny ha'penny people? Why bother to save farthings when one may reach out and take pounds? Why become manager for a co-operative store at a clerk's salary when one may enter the race to come out a Wanamaker?

Other sets of facts bear on the probable success of co-operation in America?

Some investigators of this subject have reached the conclusion that "conventional profits" are on a smaller margin in America than in Europe. In other words, competition in this country is the more acute. Department stores, mail order houses, installment firms offer the customer inducements that could not be matched by the budding co-operative store.

Especially, the system of seasonal bargain sales, when goods are "sold below cost," would be difficult with co-operators. American women are bargain hunters. They go from shop to shop seeking "leaders," "reductions," "remnants," "job-lots," "trading stamps," or "snaps" of any kind.

American wholesalers put big stocks of goods in the hands of retailers on liberal commissions, or on low terms or long

credits, which European wholesalers do not commonly risk.

In New England, the charge was made at the trial of a defaulting co-operative manager that wholesalers had "bought him up;" in the City of Washington a wholesale association stifled an attempt at co-operation on the part of government employes by refusing to sell goods to their store.

In America, the problem of trust ownership of commodities and trust manipulation of their wholesale distribution takes precedence in many men's minds of any problem in retailing.

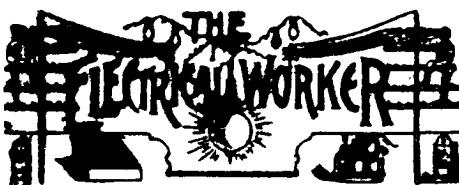
* * *

But while all the foregoing considerations may be true, and while the conditions to which they relate may affect a very large proportion of Americans engaged in gaining their livelihood, is it not possible that in our great population of ninety millions there may be some millions—perhaps ten or even twenty—so situated that the co-operative movement might appeal to them? Is it not a duty of those Americans acquainted with the European movement, and its genuine principles, to put forth the facts from time to time, that they may not be overlooked by the American public?

British co-operators, reviewing the history of co-operative effort in America, are in accord in saying that the one common fault with nearly all of America's experiments in alleged co-operation has been that they were not co-operative at all. They have been communistic, as with the Fourierist phalansteries, with Ruskin, with Topolobampo; or part co-operative, part laborite, and part political, as in the Knights of Labor movement in the 80's, or they have been self-seeking joint stock enterprises, under the guise of co-operation.

It is not to be forgotten that co-operation was a constant and disheartening failure in England until its true moral foundation was discovered and applied. Its spirit of right enlisted men's hearts and conscience and unquenchable enthusiasm. One example of a class in thousands of previous failures: In 1834 no less than seven hundred societies existed to promote Owenite communities. Ten years afterward only four of them were still in existence.

Have all the disasters to co-operation in the United States served the purpose of clearing the way in the American mind to an appreciation of what must be its only true and lasting principle—equity?



Official Journal of the
INTERNATIONAL
Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
 Published Monthly.

PETER W. COLLINS, Editor.
 Pierik Building, Springfield, Illinois.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., MAY, 1910

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This Journal will not be held responsible for views expressed by correspondents.

The first of each month is the closing date; all copy must be in our hands on or before.

NOTICE.

This will inform you that Local No. 9 has a lockout in Chicago, and will not accept traveling cards, as per Section 8, Article 14, of the Constitution. Previous notice was enclosed and forwarded to your office last week.

Fraternally,
 J. W. YOUNT.

Brother C. T. Tuttle, No. 90109, was fined \$100.00 and suspended from our Local, No. 340, for refusing to leave a non-union job when called off by Business Agent.

Fraternally,
 C. C. VORLANDER,
 Secretary Local Union No. 340, Sacramento, Cal.

Mr. Max Hayes, Editor,
 "The Cleveland Citizen,"
 310 Champlaine Ave., N. W., Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir and Brother:—In the Cleveland Citizen under date of April 16, 1910, you again boldly assert that I was ordered back by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on the Special Committee in the Electrical Workers' dispute, and that McNulty and myself were instructed to proceed with negotiations. This information you acknowledge was given by Messrs Reid and Murphy on their recent visit to Cleveland. I can assure you I am not surprised at all now at the incorrectness of the matter you have been publishing relative to the Electrical Workers. It seems that Reid and Murphy, in your estimation, are good authority for all that is truthful.

I am sorry I must again contradict you. I was not ordered back on the special committee by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; I was not instructed by that Council to proceed with further negotiations; I have not been notified up to the present time of any intended meeting of the special committee; I have not been asked, never mind ordered, to participate in any such meetings; nothing has been done since the committee adjourned in Cleveland on March 11 last any more than to report to the American Federation of Labor the transactions of that meeting.

I consider my statements made to you in black and white, over my signature, better, much better, than any rambling, windy, incorrect, biased, unauthorized statements said by Reid or Murphy, or both.

No wonder dissension, dissatisfaction, discontent and disruption now exists in the ranks of the Electrical Workers. It

was just such false rumors and untruthful statements that divided and separated them in the first instance.

A labor paper should not "fan the flame" by taking sides with either party; on the contrary, it should use its best efforts to harmonize the existing differences, thereby bringing about peace and unity to what ought to be one of the greatest labor organizations in the country.

Hoping I may not have to again contradict you in this controversy, and with best wishes and kindest regards, I am,

Fraternally yours,
FRANK DUFFY,
General Secretary Brotherhood Carpenters.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 3, 1910.

Mr. Peter W. Collins, Secretary,
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America, Pierik Bldg., Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother: I have received a letter from Mr. John Williams, Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, showing that from April 11 to May 21, inclusive, they received \$6,603.88, making a total of \$38,152.32 received on the American Federation of Labor appeal, as follows:

From Jan. 7 to Jan. 15, inclusive	\$ 1,284.82
From Jan. 17 to Jan. 29, inclusive	9,378.90
From Jan. 31 to Feb. 12, inclusive	5,939.15
From Feb. 14 to Feb. 26, inclusive	4,641.74
From Feb. 28 to March 12, inclusive	4,929.11
From March 14 to April 9, inclusive	5,374.72
From April 11 to May 21, inclusive	6,603.88
Total.....	\$38,152.32

Yours fraternally,
FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary American Federation of Labor.

SOME FACTS ABOUT THE SEAMEN'S STRIKE ON THE LAKES.

CHICAGO, May 28, 1910.

The sinking of the steamer Frank H. Goodyear, with a loss of eighteen lives, off Pt. Au Barques, Lake Huron, on May 23, as a result of a collision with the steamer James B. Wood, ought to cause a thorough investigation by the proper government officials into the conditions under which Lake Carriers' Association ships are now being navigated.

Incompetent crews, hired to replace the Seamen now on strike, and the consequent overwork required of the ship officers, are the main causs of this heavy loss of life. Instead of seamen, laborers

and boys are very largely employed on these vessels during the strike. The Lake Carriers' Association has not enough competent seamen in its employ to average two for each of the larger type of vessels.

That same association of shipowners has carefully avoided making any public comment upon the heavy loss of life in the Goodyear case, except to use it in an attempt to boast about the so-called insurance feature of its notorious "welfare plan" that caused the strike now in progress on the lakes. Well, death itself is the one thing that can show the slightest good in that miserable passport system. Death brings a hundred dollars insurance (for violent death on board ship only) and release from the whole vicious scheme.

The Lake Carriers might better remain silent. They cannot replace the husbands and fathers who went down with the ship. The whole matter ought to be made the subject of a rigid government investigation. It is the second case of the same nature since the strike began.

V. A. OLANDER,
2d Vice-President International Seamen's Union of America.

The present strike of Seamen on the great lakes, involving nearly 10,000 sailors, marine firemen, and marine cooks, has been in progress since May, 1909. There are reasons, good, valid reasons, for this strike.

An organization of shipowners, known as the Lake Carriers' Association, denies the right of Seamen to remain members of a labor union. Having declared war against all trade unions, this association of shipowners then endeavored to establish an industrial passport system which is intended to place the Seamen absolutely at the mercy of a gang of employment agents, known as "shipping masters."

The Lake Carriers call this passport scheme a "welfare plan." It provides for constant and unrelenting supervision, restraint, and espionage of every individual seaman, whether he is at work or at rest, ashore or afloat, employed or unemployed. Its aim is to establish individual servitude on the Great Lakes.

The Lake Carriers' Association is not a shipowning corporation. It is composed of shipowners, but does not itself own ships, nor does it employ seamen. Its principle business, as shown by its articles of incorporation, is that of an employment agency.

The shipowners who are members of this gigantic employment agency do not want to deal with any organization of Seamen, neither do they want to deal with the individual Seaman. What they are trying to do is to compel all Seamen to live and work, ashore and afloat, always

under the supervision and absolute control of overseers who are responsible to no one (not even to the individual ship-owner) except the employment agency known as the Lake Carriers' Association.

This is the scheme against which the Seamen are on strike. They are fighting against industrial serfdom.

The arbitration boards of six states Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, New York, Indiana and Illinois, have tried to bring about arbitration for the purpose of settling the strike.

The Lake Carriers' Association declined to arbitrate.

The National Civic Federation attempted conciliation and arbitration. The Lake Carriers would not agree to either.

The Lake Carriers' Association has refused to meet representatives of the unions. They declined to even meet with the arbitration boards of six states and the National Civic Federation.

The Seamen did not go on strike until it became absolutely necessary. They are striking now to save their manhood. They will not submit to be degraded and enslaved.

The immortal Lincoln once said, "No man is good enough to own any other man." The Seamen believe that. And they will continue the strike in an endeavor to prove that those words of the martyred emancipator are still true.

Issued by the Lake District, International Seamen's Union of America.

April, 1910.

THE CLERK'S HALF HOLIDAY.

Store clerks in our vicinity are as much entitled to a half holiday as any other class of artisans. To be sure, they cannot take it on Saturday afternoon, but they can go on Wednesday afternoon when trade is not so brisk.

An employer loses nothing by giving his clerk a half holiday. The human body, after all, is no more or less than a machine. It wears out just like other pieces of mechanism. Our bodies need a rest now and then; a surcease from toil.

In the olden days when barbaric rulers held sway, the poor serf struggled from sun to sun. He could not be dignified by the name of workman. When in the days the pyramids were built the lash of the king's captains was frequently laid on the back of the slaves, and it might be said that the pyramids were built in blood.

Since that time the toiler has always been the under dog in the fight. All through history we read of mediaeval France and Germany killing those who refused to work, and on the other hand we read of the famous workmen's guilds

of Germany burning at the stake fellow workmen who did not obey the laws of the local craftsmen.

So it has raged pro and con. England's toilers struck the first blow for freedom of the workingman, and then our great civil war put the finishing touches on the doctrine.

When slavery was wiped out, it was no longer considered undignified to work.

There are people who are going to cry down the half-holiday, but there were people who said the world was coming to an end when workingmen were about to be educated.

No, dear reader, the world is not coming to an end. Better wages and reasonable hours of employment make a better man; and a better man means a better home and a better country.—Hubert A. Kenny in South Boston Inquirer.

SLEEPING ON THE ROOF.

Dr. Addison W. Baird, who has his permanent bedroom on the roof of his residence in New York City, has this to say of the delights of open-air sleeping, in the Survey:

"I have found that sleep in the open air is quieter and deeper than indoors. One may be sleepy when the alarm sounds in the morning, but rises refreshed and invigorated. In fact, this urban open-air life has a number of pleasant features. There is a sense of remoteness, of being away from the noise and movement of the city. Looking out over the roofs the scene is often one of great beauty. The electric light streaming upward on the tall buildings of the neighborhood is very striking; and further on can be seen the Palisades with their brilliant arc lights and the dark river beneath. In winter time moonlight glistening on the surrounding snowclad roofs forms a very attractive picture.

"Experience shows that sleeping in the open air renders one less liable to 'catch cold,' and that an incipient coryza usually disappears over night. The appetite is markedly increased; not inordinately, but three good meals a day are very acceptable. This increase of appetite has its inconvenience, for it renders the need for more exercise imperative, and in city life exercise is difficult to obtain.

"Altogether, for those who are obliged to dwell in the city and who desire to obtain plenty of fresh air either as a therapeutic measure or simply as a matter of hygiene, it will be found that a roof-house is a handy institution, and that the 'climate of New York' is highly beneficial. Sleeping in the open air wherever tried brings about a wholesome stimulation of every function of the body, and refreshment to the mind and soul."

EDITORIAL.

PETER W. COLLINS.

CIVIC DUTIES. In discussing the evils in public life today we are too often unmindful of *real cause*, but pass judgment or comment with entire disregard of the essentials. Men in public life are no different than those in private life, and the glamour given to their actions as public servants simply puts them in the limelight.

If public officials are grafters, it's not so much because they are public officials—that gives them their opportunity—but because they are not honest men.

We don't need a new conception of duty, but we do need the application of duty.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A good mixer is seldom good at anything else.

Getting results is simply systematizing efficiency.

The things easily done are seldom completely done.

Good judgment and common sense work together.

Clean thoughts are good agents in character building.

The secret of success is like a Yale lock—it takes the right key to open it.

The raising of a harvest of pessimists is a mighty poor business for any nation.

The remedy for civic evils is not *hot air*, but a realization of the responsibility of duty and a doing of it.

An honest opinion, with a lack of knowledge, is of greater service than a dishonest one with a wealth of it.

The cry of "*back to the farm*" is a splendid slogan, but to be serviceable it must get out of the literary stage.

If men gave as much time to constructive thought as they do to destructive, the results would be unrealizable.

What this country needs today is men, real men, men who know what *duty* means and who are not afraid to do *duty*.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

BY PETER W. COLLINS.

INTRODUCTION

This editorial is written in the hope that Socialism may be understood in its true light by those to whom the Socialists directly appeal—the workingmen. It is the duty that one man owes to another and to himself that he exercise his best judgment to the end that progress and harmony may go hand in hand in the affairs of men. The workers cannot be appealed to with any hope of success on the issues of class hatred and enmity among men, and as Socialism in its economy and philosophy is fundamentally opposed to the recognition of the duties and responsibilities that men owe to each other, it can not succeed in securing any great number of followers among the workers when they understand Socialism.

A FEW DEFINITIONS OF SOCIALIST PHRASES

BOURGEOIS—Those who own property.

CLASS-CONSCIOUS—The doctrine of “class against class.” To unite the workers as a class against the rest of society is the policy of Socialism.

INTELLECTUALS—Those Socialists who have an income, but who don’t work for it.

MANIFESTO (COMMUNIST)—Principles of Socialism outlined by Marx and Engels.

PARLOR SOCIALISTS—Those Socialists (who are also Intellectuals) who meet at their country homes to discuss the “Proletariat.”

PROTELARIAT—The “class” in society which is without property.

PROTELARIAN—One who belongs to that class.

PROPAGANDA (SOCIALIST)—Program, system and policy for spreading Socialism.

PROPAGANDIST (SOCIALIST)—A Socialist who spends his whole time in spreading the doctrines of Socialism.

SOAP BOX—The organizing stand where Socialist orators fish for “Proletarian” converts.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

My friend, let us sit down and discuss this subject of Socialism intelligently, calmly and without bias, and I am sure after such a discussion we can arrive at a sensible conclusion.

DISCUSSION OF SOCIALISM. One of the really unfortunate things about this subject of Socialism is the evident purpose of its advocates to have it misunderstood; not to its prejudice, of course, but in its favor, and though this assertion may seem rather far fetched, yet it is a fact; not that there are Socialists who do not know the doctrines of Socialism, and believe in them, but because there are those *who call themselves Socialists* who, if they *did know Socialism*, would divorce themselves from it *with all haste*.

You say that I am doing Socialism an injustice and that I ought to let Socialism speak for itself, and give Socialists a chance to prove their case, or at least to present it.

Perhaps you are right. I may be doing Socialism an injustice, and as *Socialist authorities ought to know best what Socialism is*, we will give Socialism a hearing and let its friends present their case. Now, for fear that we may be accused of *framing up a case against Socialism*, and so those whom we allow to speak for it may not be said to be our *straw men*, we will take the list of *accepted authorities given to us by recognized Socialists and have them answer our question*.

Before we proceed with the case, let us listen to a word from Kirkup, a non-Socialist historian, of Socialism whom Hunter (recognized American Socialist authority) gives as a reference in his book, "Socialists at Work."

CONTRADICTIONS. Kirkup says, in his "History of Socialism: "Though much has been written about Socialism for many years, *it still remains a questionable name*, which awakens in the mind of the reader *doubt, perplexity and contradiction*."

Now our reason for citing these words of Kirkup at *this time* is to call attention to the very fact he mentions: *The term "Socialism awakens doubt, perplexity and contradiction."*

This is due in a large measure to Socialist methods. They have reasons, and among the reasons is the desire of Socialists to *get a following by false pretenses*, gradually instilling into their converts *the real doctrines of Socialism*. When it is realized that the purpose of Socialism is to build on what they call the proletariat (those who are without property), simply because there are more of them than those whom they call the bourgeois (those with property), it will be seen that there is method and system in their plans to secure a following by *false pretenses*.

DOCTRINES LAID DOWN.

The doctrines of Socialism, as *laid down by its authorities and its founders*, can hardly be understood in principle or in the words explaining them by the student, without careful study, let alone the "proletariat," with its limited opportunities for study, and but slight inclination to study, and yet from a few lessons at the soap box the "proletarian" thinks he is a full fledged Socialist.

In the works of its authorities we are *confronted with a maze of unfamiliar words, expressions, theories, ideas and philosophies*. While these may be intelligible to those who have made a life study of systems of philosophy, yet to the *every-day garden variety of citizen* they are simply "words, words, words."

Now it must not be understood that we are criticising something simply because we are not familiar with its logic (if it has any), or the beauty of its rhetoric. We are very anxious to make a *fair examination and investigation* of its doctrines and we want to *caution against a lack of interest in the investigation* simply because there are obstacles. *We must meet the obstacles, and it is well to know beforehand that they are there.*

CONFUSION OF WORDS.

As a choice sample of what we would call attention to, let us introduce, at this time, *Mr. Belford Bax, a recognized English Socialist authority*, quoted frequently by American Socialists as "*an eminent and able advocate of Socialism.*" Mr. Bax says, in his work on Socialism: "*The method of obliterating real distinctions by verbal jugglery, and thus apparently landing an opponent in a reductio ad absurdum, is a specious one, and, as it is well known, a favorite with sophists. By taking a conception in its most abstract sense, carefully emptying it of all specific content, it is easy enough to make everything nothing and nothing everything.*"

Perhaps that is good logic, but it seems to us rather *an exhibition of dictionary browsing* for which *workingmen have neither the time nor inclination*, and it does not help us in the study of Socialism.

TO LEARN.

You and I want to know something about Socialism, and we look with suspicion upon the fellows who want to show us by methods of this kind. We cite another example by a non-Socialist who is *going to show us the simple way*. Gustave Simonson, in his work, "*An Investigation of Socialism,*" says:

"*Unfortunately political economy, as it is now treated by publicists and professors, has become so clouded by masses of irrelevant erudition, undemonstrable theories and unpractical abstractions, that the few single principles are brushed aside and ignored.*"

Now Gustave is right, but Gustave is also a professor and has fallen into the error of clouding the issue. We want a *practical and sensible discussion* of the issue. These examples are cited to call attention to the necessity for *patience and care* in our investigation of this subject, for we will have to deal with just such language and wander through many mazes in our search for the answer to the question, "*What is Socialism?*"

WAYS TO STUDY SOCIALISM.

There are three ways in which we may become acquainted with Socialism. First, we can listen to the soap box orator, who roasts to a frazzle the capitalist, the bourgeois,

the plutocrat, the labor unions, and others of the non-elect, each day that his license is in force.

Secondly. We can *read the Socialist newspapers* and attend meetings of the intellectuals, or the higher ups, and get lessons in this manner without hearing the above mentioned capitalists and others scolded so unmercifully.

RIGHT WAY. Thirdly. We can get the works of the *authorities on Socialism* (its founders) and *study these works for the answer*. The first way will give a man with a little humor in him an estimate of its value; the second will give him an opportunity to see how much *some men can talk* and how *little they can say*, while the third *will probably give him a fair idea of the doctrines of Socialism*.

But don't for a minute think that either method is devoid of purpose. The first, or the *soap box route*, is for the "proletarian" who has little time and less inclination to study but wants his turbulent soul satisfied by the scorching of the bourgeois, or the fellow who has something that he hasn't got, but wants mighty bad. The soap box orator seldom preaches real Socialism but catches the unwary by saying Social reform is Socialism, when, as a matter of fact, it is not Socialism.

The second way is the way of the social settlement inclined souls; those who have time on their hands and some accumulated profit that they want to spend in helping the "proletarians" to know that they are with them in soul and spirit (but not financially). These are the *parlor Socialists* and *after-tea philosophers* who have their social secretaries do most of their thinking for them, that is, what little thinking is necessary.

The last way, the study of authorities, is the *real way* to find out *about Socialism*, and we propose to travel that way and get the information we want from those best able to give it—it's authorities.

KARL MARX. First of all, let us begin by introducing a gentleman who, more than any other, and *more than all others, is accepted as the real fount of Socialism*, Mr. Karl Marx.

Karl Marx was of Jewish descent, born in Treves, in the year 1818. He became associated with Frederick Engels in 1843, and with Engels issued the so-called "Communist Manifesto," or platform of principles of Socialism, in 1847. In 1867 Marx published his work, "*Das Kapital*." Marx died in 1883.

This work was translated into English by Samuel Moore, a close friend of Marx, and by Edward Aveling, Marx's *son-in law* (free-love alliance), assisted by Marx's daughter, and edited by Marx's great friend and co-worker, Frederick Engels.

BIBLE OF SOCIALISM. "*Das Kapital*," or "Capital," written by Marx, is a storehouse of Socialistic doctrine, and from this storehouse Socialism *gets its principles*. It is called the Bible of Socialism.

Marx was a student of Hegel, the German philosopher-atheist—whose system, or new method, was called the "philosophy of nature or materialism, which is the mechanical theory of the universe."

MATERIALISM. But let us have *an American Socialist define Materialism.* W. J. Ghent, instructor in the Rand School of Socialism at New York, says:

"Matter is its only substance, and matter and its motions constitute the universe." That is, there is nothing outside of matter, *no God, no soul, but simply matter.*

Now, Marx *gives us his ideal* in his work, "Kapital:" "With me," he says, "the ideal is nothing else than the *material world* reflected by the human mind translated into forms of thought."

Marx is credited with the discovery of what is called *the Materialistic conception of history*, which is nothing less than the *doctrine of atheism*, and is anti-religious.

FREDERICK ENGELS. But let us hear Marx's friend and co-worker and joint author of the "Communist Manifesto," Frederick Engels, on this discovery of his friend Marx.

Engels says in his work, "Scientific Socialism": "These two great discoveries, *the materialistic conception of history* and the revelation of the secret of capitalistic production through surplus value, we owe to Marx; with these two discoveries Socialism became a science."

MARX AND ENGELS. We can listen to Kirkup and his estimate of Marx and Engels. Kirkup says: "The greatest and most influential name in the history of Socialism is unquestionably Marx. He and Engels are the *acknowledged heads of the scientific and revolutionary school of Socialism* which has its representatives in almost every country of the civilized world, and is generally recognized as the most serious and formidable form of the new teaching."

Marx was a German, trained in the school of Hegel. His practical energy was not inferior to the range of his intelligence. *All the more regrettable*, therefore, is it that Marx should have adopted such a narrowing system of philosophy as materialism."

PHILOSOPHY OF. Thus we see that Marx based as the *philosophical foundation of Socialism* the *atheistic doctrine of Materialism*. Listen to Engels in connection with the theory of evolution. He says:

"Finally the proof *first developed logically by Darwin*, that the organic products of nature about us, *including man*, are the results of a long process of evolution, from a few original single cells, and these again by virtue of chemical processes, have proceeded from protoplasm or white of eggs."

Engels says further: "He (referring to Feuerbach, atheist and disciple of Hegel) proves that *the Christian God is only the fantastic reflection, the reflected image of man.*"

And again Engels, in his comment on religion, says:

ANTI-RELIGIOUS. "Religion arose at a very remote period of human development, *in the savage state*, from certain erroneous and barbaric conceptions of men with regard to themselves, and the outside world of nature around them."

And again he says:

"English Socialism affords the most pronounced expression of the *prevailing absence of religion* among the working men. An expression so pronounced, indeed, that the mass of the working men, being unconsciously and merely practically irreligious, often draw back before it. But here, too, *necessity will force the working men to abandon the remnants of a belief, which, as they will more clearly perceive, serves only to make them weak and resigned to their fate, obedient and faithful to the vampire propertyholding class.*"

Before quoting Engels further (and we quote him at length because he was the co-worker with Marx and the accepted interpreter of his doctrine) let us hear what Austin Lewis, an accepted authority and a Socialist, says: "*The anti-religious note is noticeable throughout Engels' work.*"

AUTHORITIES. Now let us get back to Marx, but before we hear him at greater length we will insert the authorities given us in Hunter's book, "*Socialists at Work.*" Hunter says:

"Bebel, Marx, Bax, Lafargue, Kirkup, Hyndman, Aveling, Liebknecht, Engels, Spargo, are authorities on Socialism."

We would at this time also give the works from which quotations are made in this present article:

Condition of the Working Class.	Engels.
Capital.	Marx.
Karl Marx.	Engels.
Socialism—Its Growth and Outcome.	Morris and Bax.
History of Socialism.	Kirkup.
Mass and Class.	Ghent.
The Religion of Socialism.	Ernest Belford Bax.
Socialist Philosophy.	Engels.
Socialists at Work.	Robt. Hunter.
Communist Manifesto.	Marx and Engels.

IDENTIFIED. As we will hear these authorities we want their identity as Socialist authorities established by a recognized Socialist authority, and Hunter is such a one. The only non-Socialist mentioned is Kirkup, who is accepted by Hunter as *very fair*, and who is simply quoted as a reference, and not as a Socialist authority.

But we must get further into the subject of Socialism, and now we will hear again from Marx. He says:

CLASS HATRED. "*Society is the history of class struggles; men must necessarily be in conflict with each other; the hostile camps in society are the bourgeois and proletarian. The bourgeois are those who have property, the proletarians, those who have no property; the rule of the modern state is not for the bourgeois; the bourgeois has reduced the family to a mere money relation; religion is only a veil for exploitation; the bourgeois will bring death to itself because it made possible the working class—proletarians; they are to wield the weapons of death.*"

ANTI-FAMILY. Here Marx says that society is a class struggle; that men must be in conflict; that the family is a money relation and not sacred; that religion is a tool of oppression. This is clear and unmistakable language, and there is no confusion of words. Let us hear from him further. He says:

“Make the trade unions a center in a national class struggle; organize workers as a class organization for a class battle; the proletariat is a revolutionary class; the proletariat is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relations; law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all, settle matters with its own bourgeois, in the national struggle.”

TRADE UNIONS. He wants the trade unions made centers for spreading his doctrine, the doctrines of Socialism, of conflict, of atheism, of hatred, of men against men, of free love, and the rampage of free and unrestrained desire. No law, no morality, “these are simply prejudices,” he says.

But let us hear him again in presenting his doctrine. He says:

“The communists are the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others. They have the advantage of the proletariat of clearly understanding the line of march and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement. Aim is to form workers into a class, overthrow the bourgeois, conquest of political power by the proletariat. Theory of the communist may be summed up in the single sentence, abolition of private property.

FREE LOVE. And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois, abolition of individuality and freedom, and rightly so; the abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at. Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common, and this, at the most, what the communists might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized community of women.”

ANTI-PATRIOTISM. The workingmen have no country; we cannot take from them what they have not; the communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas. The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeois; to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i. e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class.”

ATHEISM. Thus we see from what Marx has said in his Manifesto and his Capital, that the basis of Socialism is materialism, atheism, and his belief in the Darwinian theory of the origin of species; that society is the history of class struggle, and that men who are poor and those who are rich must, because of this fact, be in continual conflict until the conquest of the rich by the poor; that the family is simply a money relation

and has nothing sacred in it; religion is simply a veil to hide the rich while they rob the poor; the bourgeois (the property holders) will be whipped into submission by the proletarians (those who are without property); the trade unions must be the central organization to make possible this victory against the present order of society. The proletarians must be a revolutionary craft. Law, morality and religion are simply prejudices of the bourgeois to hold down the proletarian.

We have heard from Marx, the real fountain of Socialism, and he has presented his case, but for fear that we may not be prejudiced by simply hearing Marx, *let us hear the other authorities.*

SOME DEFINITIONS. Bax, leading Socialist, says: "The religion of collective and co-operative industry is *humanism*, which is only another name for Socialism. It is towards this world where civilization shall have ceased to be, that the Socialist of the day casts his eyes. *The Socialist whose social creed is his only religion needs no travesty of Christian rites to aid him in keeping his ideals before him.*"

"Socialism is essentially neither religious or irreligious, inasmuch as it reaffirms the unity of human race, *abolishing the dualism which has lain at the foundation of all the great ethical religions.*"

ANTI-FAMILY. "We defy any human being to point to a single reality, good or bad, in the composition of the family. It has the merit of being the most perfect specimen of the complete sham that history has preserved to the world."

As to the particulars of life under the Socialistic order, we may, *to begin with, say concerning marriage and the family, that it would be affected by the great change, firstly in economics, and secondly in ethics*

Thus a new development of the family would take place on the basis, not of a lifelong business arrangement, to be formally and nominally held to, irrespective of circumstances, but on mutual inclination and affection, and association terminable at the will of either party."

Bebel says: "Socialism is science applied with clear consciousness and full knowledge to every sphere of human activity.

"We wish in politics, the Republic, the economy Socialism, and in religion, atheism."

ANTI-RELIGIOUS. Liebknecht says: "Socialism must conquer the stupidity of the masses in so far as the stupidity reveals itself in religious forms and dogmas."

Paul Lafargue (Marx's son-in-law) says:

"Socialism is not the system of any reformer whatever; it is the doctrine of those who believe that the existing system is on the eve of a fatal economic evolution which will establish collective ownership in the hands of organization of workers, in place of the individual ownership of capital."

M. Lerou's definition: "A political organization in which the individual is sacrificed to society."

Ghent's definition: "As a doctrine modern Socialism is founded upon the materialistic conception of history."

Hilquit says: "Modern Socialists address themselves not so much to the human sentiment of society at large as to the self-interests of the working class as a class primarily concerned in the impending social change."

IMMORALITY. Deville, French Socialist authority, says: "*Marriage is a regulation of property.* When property is transformed and only after that transformation, *marriage will lose its reason for existence, and boys and girls may freely and without censure listen to the wants and promptings of their nature.* There will be no room for prostitution or marriage which is nothing more than prostitution before the mayor." W. D. Bliss, Socialist, in his article in the Social Encyclopedia.

Engels outlines how Socialism will accomplish its end. He says:

THE CONFLICT. "This, I maintain, *the war of the poor against the rich,* now carried on in detail and indirectly will become direct and universal. It is too late for a peaceful solution."

The classes are divided more and more sharply, the spirit of resistance penetrates the workers, the bitterness interferes, the guerilla skirmishes become concentrated in more important battles, and soon a slight impulse will suffice to set the avalanche in motion. Then, indeed, will the war cry resound through the land; war to the palaces, peace to the cottages—but then it will be too late for the rich to beware."

Janet, Socialist, says:

"We call Socialism every doctrine which teaches that the state has the right to correct the inequality of wealth which exists among men and to legally establish the balance *by taking from those who have too much in order to give to those who have not enough.*"

Victor Berger, leader of Wisconsin Socialists, says: "The materialistic conception of history is the basis of Socialism."

Thus we have seen some of the definitions given to socialism by its friends. These are Materialism, Free Love, Anti-Religious, Anti-Family, Anti-Home, Anti-Marriage, Anti-Patriotic, Class Hatred, Revolution, Division of Wealth, Collective Ownership, etc. Now let us for a moment turn to the relation of Socialism and Socialists to the trade union movement.

METHODS TOWARD. As will be noted from the statement of Marx, it was his wish that the work of organization be planned in the organization of the workers and the plan *mapped out by him for the capture of the trade unions* to Socialism was concurred in by the other authorities of Socialism. We quote here the words of Bax on unions, and from his remarks it will be seen that this belief of Socialists is that the trade unions can fulfill only one useful function, and that is to *advance Socialism.* He says:

"What useful function can unionists still fulfill? We would, in reply, urge upon all unionists to direct all their energies toward consolidating and federating with the distinct end of *consolidating themselves the nucleus of a Socialist commonwealth*—a commonwealth not alone national, but international as well."

We urge upon them to unite themselves with a view, at the earliest possible date, *of laying hands on the means of production, distribution and exchange in this and every other civilized country.*

"Friends, we ask you to consider that the great aim of Socialism is the abolition of this bogey—the state—and the transformation of the civilized or state world into a socialized or commercial world."

CAPTURING UNIONS. This policy of capturing the unions has ever been a favorite one with the Socialists, and *when they could not capture they formed dual organizations* to beat down those already organized. This, indeed, is a real alliance with capital, and though they condemn capital, yet they ally with it.

Their slogan was, *educate the workers to be class conscious*, that is, to fight as a class because they are in the majority and *should run society for their own benefit.*

Let us introduce at this time our constant adviser on Socialism, Fred'k Engels, and hear him on the subject of education. He says:

ON EDUCATION. "Workingmen appreciate solid education when they can get it unmixed from the cant of the bourgeois. I have often heard *workingmen, whose jackets scarcely held together, speak upon geological, astronomical and other subjects.*

"The English proletariat has succeeded in obtaining an independent education, as is shown by *the effort making products of modern philosophical, political and poetical literature which are read by workingmen almost exclusively.*

"The Socialists have done wonders for the education of the proletariat. They have translated the French materialists and Byron, with his glowing sensuality, and his bitter satire upon existing society, find most of their readers in the proletariat; the bourgeois only own castrated editions, faulty editions cut down in accordance with the hypocritical morality of today."

We are firm believers in the value of education, that is, *real education.* The education of character as well as intellect, and our view as to a solid education differs entirely from that of Engels.

Engels said he often heard workingmen speak upon theological, astronomical and other subjects.

AMUSING. This, indeed, is amusing and must occasion great glee to the workers to know that *these are the essentials of a solid education* and that they are in *full possession of it.* Surely such a knowledge is a proud possession.

While we feel that the *doctrine of Socialism founded on the atheistic theory of "materialistic conception of history"* might be a reason why the proletarians should be geologists, we can hardly grasp the relation with astronomy, and we would keenly enjoy knowing the other subjects, which no doubt include free love and its allied immoralities.

He mentions that modern philosophical, political and poetical literature is read exclusively by workingmen.

Of course, he means that the *modern philosophy* is the philosophy of *maternalism* and *atheism*, which is the foundation of modern Socialism, as represented by the teachings of Hegel, Lassalle, Marx, Bebel and the others, and the political literature is the literature of *Socialism*—the poetical literature *also that of Socialism*.

He glorifies Byron as he says, "For his glowing sensuality." That is his immorality, and he says with scorn that because the bourgeois cut out the immoral from their editions, they are uneducated and hypocritical. Surely a terrible indictment which must astound all right living men.

CHARACTER. But really, believing as he does, he is consistent, for *there can be no development of character where its value is unappreciated*; there can be no moral or religious education where both morals and religion are laughed at, scorned and ridiculed; there can be no training that makes virtue, knowledge, honor and manhood appreciated, because *these things are tabooed in the philosophy of Socialism*. *Yes, and in its economy and propaganda*, and quite naturally would be in the Socialistic commonwealth.

ANTI-UNION. We, in the United States, are so often met with the statement that Socialists are the friends of the trade unions. But is this so? Let the Socialists speak for themselves. *Mr. Debs*, the standard bearer of the Socialist party, for the past few elections, *condemns the trade unions*. He organized and supports secession movements from the labor movement, and glories (as do his followers) in the fact that his hope is to tear down trade unions.

He formed the dual American Railway Union, the Industrial Workers of the World, the American Labor Union, and other dual organizations formed simply and solely to destroy the trade union movement. "By their acts ye shall know them." Debs' acts show us what manner of man he is.

DEBS. He, *the wonderful self advertiser, Debs, the demagogue, par excellence, who calls himself a union man*, weeps real tears over their wrongs and then *organizes dual organizations, opposed to the trade unions, and does all in his power to disrupt the labor movement*. Socialists are as much friends of the labor movement as are strike-breakers.

Debs served six months for contempt of court (so-called) during the Chicago railroad strike of 1894, and he has capitalized on that six months with a press agency and lecture bureau service that has *made him great profits* which, by the way, is opposed to Socialist theory, for they say they would abolish profit, but until they do *Debs says he is justified in getting his*.

DISRUPTION. Not alone does Debs carry on the work of disruption of labor, but he and the Socialists are continually *working within and without the ranks of the trade unions to destroy their efficiency as organizations of the workers*. The Socialist press condemns the unions and Socialist authors and orators vie with each other in heaping abuse and calumny on the labor movement.

Debs, in his articles and speeches, is constantly calling upon the workers to leave the trade unions and join the Socialist dual organizations. This is no secret.

To those of us in the labor movement, accustomed as we are, to hearing the *rantings and ravings of the Socialist agitators and demagogues*, there is no difference of *opinion as to Socialism*. But to those outside of the movement there is a great deal of doubt and confusion *as to just what Socialism represents*, its principles, if it has any, *and its exponents, who they are, and how they work*.

AS TO TRADE UNIONISTS. It is needless to say that the time will never come when the workers of America will give up the constructive principles of trade unionism to embrace the destructive theories of Socialism.

OPINIONS ON SOCIALISM. As we have proceeded this far in our discussion of this subject, it might not be amiss for us to take up the prevailing impressions of Socialism.

Many of those *unacquainted with the doctrines of Socialism* hold peculiar ideas *as to what it really all amounts to*, and it is indeed interesting to hear the answers to the questions *asked of the average person*: what is your opinion of Socialism and *what do you think it represents*? What are its doctrines? and so forth.

First of all, *the majority of answers will be of a decidedly non-Socialistic tenor*. Such for instance, as government ownership of railways, municipal ownership of water, light and heating plants, ownership of street car lines, government ownership of telegraph and telephones, etc.

Now, as a matter of fact, these are not doctrines of Socialism, but it is true that the political Socialist and the soap box orator *use them as bait to catch the unwary* and make converts to Socialism.

Then there is the cry against economic evils, evils which all good citizens, irrespective of party, condemn and seek to remedy. Graft is another card of the Socialist agitator in his *condemnation of society*. He blames this onto the present structure of society and not onto the individual graftor or the ring of grafters, or to the dishonesty of the graftor.

SOCIAL REFORM. All good citizens *condemn graft and crookedness in public life*, as well as dishonesty in private life, but the Socialist says that the only way to cut out graft is to *do away with the state and adopt the Socialistic commonwealth*, where men will be perfect and where the chosen committee of the proletarians will refuse to touch the filthy lucre. Let us give a word here, from John Spargo, Socialist authority, about his comrades and their virtues, and we get a first hand knowledge of their perfection and capacity to run a *real government*.

SOCIALISTS. "In furtherance of the selfish ambitions of a few men of small minds, and even smaller hearts, the whole movement has been dragged into the mire, and the heart of every sincere Socialist sickened with shame at the spectacle. No depth of degradation and dishonor has been reached by any capitalistic party in its sordid strivings which has not been attained by American Socialists." (New York Call, Nov. 28, 1909.)

Municipal Ownership, Government Ownership, etc., are the things you have heard, and you say you never hear the Socialists preach the doctrines that we find in the works of Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel, Bax and the others, including the Socialist press.

Well, didn't we advise you in the beginning that we were going to search for the answer to our question *for the truth about Socialism?* Didn't we say that Socialism *has its politicians as well as its doctrines?* Didn't we tell *about Socialists trying to confuse the issue and make converts by misrepresentation?*

Well, they don't cry out from the house-tops that *Socialism is atheistical, that it is anti-religious, that it stands for the abolition of the family, and that it stands for free love, that it opposes trade unions, etc.*

POLICY. No, that wouldn't be policy, and what they want is not so much to teach Socialism as to make Socialists. But the authorities give the doctrine while the orators give the hot air and create discontent.

They take advantage of the discontent on every issue, and they capitalize on it; they create industrial strife and capitalize on that, and when they get the Socialists, they teach them Socialism. Thus, we have seen that after summing up the case of Socialism and after an examination of their own authorities, we find that the basis of Socialism is laid on the materialistic conception of history, and that this doctrine is atheistical and opposed to the belief in God; standing on the false premises that matter is the universe and the universe is matter; that man evolved from the lower animals and has no soul; that labor is the source of all wealth, and that capital has no place in society; that the bourgeois, or those who own property, are living off those who own nothing, and as those who own nothing are in the great majority, they must seize all property for their own use as society; religion to them is a phantasy and a travesty, and the family is simply a prejudice of the property owning class; men owe no allegiance to any country, but owe it simply to the class that will control society.

CONCLUSIONS. Now, these doctrines look good to Socialists, either because they fail to understand them, or because they believe in a change of society, but we know that the sober, industrious, thrifty working-man don't want any of it in his. Indeed, some of these so-called Socialists get hot under the collar when we even point out what the authorities of Socialism tell us it is, and even when we take the authorities of Socialism and point out what Marx tells us is the doctrine, they hem and haw and immediately start the hot air bombast. But the facts are powerful, gentlemen, and the facts tell the story.

The trade unions declared early in their history for the public ownership of public utilities, but this isn't Socialism. Civic organizations, composed of good law-abiding citizens, have often, through the generations, declared for remedying of evils in the body politic, and did remedy them—but this isn't Socialism.

The Church has, from the beginning, protected and safeguarded the rights of the toilers, but that wasn't Socialism. The State has had its post-office and post roads, its telegraph and its railroads, and the city their lighting, water and heating plants—but that wasn't Socialism.

These things were the application of common sense, of civic consciousness to the conditions necessary for advancement—it was progress. Socialism is opposed to progress.

The people of this republic are intelligent enough and able enough to conduct their affairs, either private or public, and it is not their intention to turn them over to a lot of hairbrained, irresponsible soap box orators, parlor philosophers or millionaires' sons, who have the social center fever.

The good old declaration of principles is as sound today as when drafted, and this nation of ours is not in such a condition, nor ever will be, that it has to sacrifice its ideals of manhood and womanhood, of right and justice, of religious freedom of the belief in God, to be the stamping ground of anarchy, of free desire, or Socialism.

What is the answer?

THE ANSWER. The answer is this: that Socialism is the opposite of all those things that stand for and represent the highest ideals of life; that it is the doctrine of strife and hatred among men; that it is the wedge of dissolution of republican institutions of freedom; that it is the doctrine of chaos, and opposed to the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

ARKANSAS BROTHERS, ATTENTION!

For many years our organization has fought for direct legislation in every state, because we eagerly desire to end political bossism by the rule of the whole people.

This year Arkansas is the only state in which the voters are permitted by their legislature to vote on the initiative and referendum. Your legislature has submitted the question in the form of an amendment to the constitution. It is up to you to show the kind of stuff you are made of, and we hope our organization will be at the front in the fight.

You should work for and talk for "Amendment No. 10" with every man you meet from now till election day.

Politicians will try to side track you by injecting other issues, but do not be deceived. That is what the trusts want. Amendment No. 10 will put the power of legislation in the hands of the people, where it belongs. You have the Farmers' Union to help you. Make a clean, straight fight for "the people's amendment, No. 10."

We understand you must have a poll tax receipt in order to vote, so don't forget that.

Also remember that if you forget to vote on the measure you will be counted against it, since you must have a majority of all votes cast at the election to pass it. Your negligence may defeat the measure.

For information and literature, write to State Secretary of the A. S. F. L. at Little Rock, Ark., Box 443.

Your secretary should read this in the next meeting of your local and steps taken to get busy. Let every man appoint himself a committee of one to see that the amendment is passed and that Arkansas is the next state to put the initiative and referendum into her constitution.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Feb. 10, 1910.

To the Members of Organized Labor in Arkansas:

The December, 1909, convention of the Arkansas State Federation of Labor, realizing the importance to the masses of the people of the adoption of the initiative and referendum as an amendment to the Constitution of the State of Arkansas, and which is to be voted for or against at the next general election in this state, advocated the formation of initiative and referendum clubs in every precinct in Arkansas to urge the adoption of this amendment. Therefore, you are requested to solicit the co-operation of your fellow members in the union, and all who are in favor of letting the people rule, in carrying out the plan recommended by the convention, namely, the formation of

initiative and referendum clubs, and the using of your influence in securing the adoption of the amendment providing for the initiative and referendum in government in this state.

In connection with this, you will find a copy of the amendment which is to be submitted to the voters of the state, and also a comment on the same, which is taken from the report of the legislative committee to the last State Federation convention.

Should you need additional information on this matter, I will be pleased to have you write me, for the adoption of the initiative and referendum to the Constitution of the state will be a most progressive step for organized labor and a victory for the people.

Fraternally,

L. H. MOORE,
Sec.-Treas. Arkansas State Federation of Labor.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

(From the report of the Legislative Committee of the Arkansas State Federation of Labor, submitted to the 1909 annual convention.)

At the general election in Arkansas, to be held this year, an amendment to the Constitution will be voted for by the people, which, if adopted, will place the government of the state in the control of the people.

This proposed amendment is known as joint resolution number one, and passed the Senate by a vote of 27 for and 1 against, and passed the House by a vote of 78 to 4. As this is an amendment to the Constitution, it will have to be voted upon for adoption or rejection at the next general election.

Senator E. R. Arnold of Clark county introduced this resolution in the Senate of 1907, but it was not generally understood, and failed of passage. Shortly after its defeat, William J. Bryan delivered an address in Little Rock and forcibly presented the advantages of the initiative and referendum and won for it many supporters, who had previously given it but little consideration. At the last Legislature, Senator Arnold again presented the resolution and championed it in an effective manner. It is to be hoped that the people will adopt this resolution as an amendment to the Constitution, as it provides a way for the people to govern themselves. The initiative and referendum together are called direct legislation, because, if the government does not act rightly, the people can interfere and set it right. With this law the people are self-governing; without it, they are not.

The Initiative.—If the people always elected representatives who would carry out their wishes, the initiative would not be needed. But sometimes men are elected who do not agree with the majority of the people, and, to have their own way, even refuse to consider the wishes of the people. Without the initiative the people cannot help themselves, but with it, if a sufficient number petition the legislature to present a certain bill, the legislature must do so.

The Referendum.—Sometimes legislative bodies pass bills the people do not approve of. Without the referendum the people have no recourse but to submit. With the referendum, they can compel the submission of the law to the people, to be approved by them before it becomes operative, just like an appeal from the decision of a chairman to the house. The matter can be placed before the people at a special election, or at the next general election. This would not require many special elections, for legislatures would not pass many laws not favored by the people, with the knowledge that the people would have the power to veto them. This will curtail legislative rascality, for corporations are not apt to spend money to corrupt a legislative body into passing a law when they know it cannot deliver the goods, because the people will have a chance to veto the law. Sometimes committees who are opposed to a bill, pigeon hole it or place it so far down the list that the day of adjournment arrives before it can be reached. Sometimes enemies add so many amendments to a bill as to render it useless for the purpose designed. If a bill gets through one house, it then has to run the gauntlet of the other. Failure of the two houses to agree leads to a conference that adds to the delay. Even if the bill passes both houses, it may be vetoed by the governor, as were the four agricultural school and the semi-monthly pay day bills three years ago. If a bill the people favors becomes a law, then it may be knocked out by a decision of the courts.

All of the above obstructions to the will of the people may be avoided by the initiative and referendum, for the law proposed is either enacted or defeated by the people themselves.

Those who oppose direct legislation generally seem to think that the people are not competent to manage their own affairs. Such men have no right in the plan of our government, which was intended by its creators to be government of, for and by the people. The adoption of the initiative and referendum will lead our citizens to take more interest in the laws that govern them and keep themselves better informed as to what is needed, for they will realize that their government is what they make it. Understanding the power that this places in the

hands of the people, let us unite in seeing that the amendment to the Constitution of the State of Arkansas providing for the initiative and referendum is adopted at the next general election, thus giving the people the power to carry their will into effect when legislative bodies refuse or fail to act, and that we may be able to resist legislative action when contrary to the general will.

In connection with this, we quote the following from Justice David Brewer, who said: "The two supreme dangers that menace a democratic state are despotism on one hand and mob rule on the other. The more constant and universal the voice of the people makes itself manifest, the nearer do we approach to an ideal government. The initiative and referendum makes public approval the controlling factor of government. The more promptly and the more fully public officers carry into effect such public opinion, the more truly is government of the people realized."

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

The importance of this resolution is so great that we give it in full. It is designed to place the controlling governing power of the State where it properly belongs—in the hands of the people.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 1.

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Arkansas, a majority of both houses agreeing thereto:

That the following is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the State of Arkansas, and the same being submitted to the electors of the state for approval or rejection at the next general election for senators and representatives, if a majority of the electors voting at such election adopt such amendment, the same shall become a part of the Constitution of the State of Arkansas, to-wit:

That Section 1, Article 5, of the Constitution of the State of Arkansas, be amended so as to read as follows:

Section 1. The legislative powers of this state shall be vested in a General Assembly, which shall consist of the Senate and House of Representatives, but the people of each municipality, each county and of the state reserve to themselves power to propose laws and amendments to the Constitution, and to enact or reject the same at the polls as independent of the Legislative Assembly, and also reserve power, at their own option, to approve or reject at the polls any act of the Legislative Assembly. The first power reserved by the people is the initiative, and not more than 8 per cent of the legal voters shall be required to propose any measure by such petition, and every such petition shall include the

whole text of any measure so proposed. Initiative petitions shall be filed with the Secretary of State not less than four months before the election at which they are to be voted upon.

The second power is a referendum, and it may be ordered (except as to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety), either by the petition signed by 5 per cent of the legal voters, or by the Legislative Assembly, as other bills are enacted. Referendum petitions shall be filed with the Secretary of State not more than ninety days after the final adjournment of the session of the Legislative Assembly which passed the bill on which the referendum is demanded. The veto power of the Governor shall not extend to measures referred to the people. All elections of measures referred to the people of the state shall be had at the biennial regular general elections, except where the Legislative Assembly shall order a special election. Any

measure referred to the people shall take effect and become a law when it is approved by a majority of the votes cast thereon, and not otherwise. The style of all bills shall be, "Be it enacted by the people of the State of Arkansas." This section shall not be construed to deprive any member of the Legislative Assembly of the right to introduce any measure. The whole number of votes cast for the office of Governor at the regular election last preceding the filing of any petition for the initiative, or for the referendum, shall be the basis on which the number of legal votes necessary to sign such petition shall be counted. Petitions and orders for the initiative and for the referendum shall be filed with the Secretary of State, and in submitting the same to the people he and all other officers shall be guided by the general laws and the acts submitting this amendment, until legislation shall be specially provided therefor.

Approved February 19, 1909.

FACTS, NOTIONS AND FIGURES.

BY SAMUEL GOMPERS.

How the best of candid friends may fail to agree in their views as to what are the facts when question arises between them as to one another's words, acts, or opinions, is an old story, and it illustrates how we poor mortals move and have our being in the dense fogs of our own prejudice, partisanship and imperfect perceptiveness. Now there's the New York Call. It was actually pained by our reference in February to what we regarded as the "eternal clamorous discord" of the socialist parties. It even spoke of our "gloating" over the disagreements among socialists. Nay, courteous Call, never did we gloat; we merely recorded. In this case we printed a fact, seemingly to us easily observable, indisputably notorious, and rather suggestive of collectivist character. In a whole column or more, the Call further indignantly contradicts our somewhat settled impressions that the socialist party was responsible for the promotion of dual unions which from time to time have tried to break down the American Federation of Labor. "The socialist party does not meddle in the internal affairs of the trade unions," quoth the editor, in a fine glow of virtuous resentment. * * * "We deplore dissensions among unionists." Now, if we allowed ourselves to get into a perspiration, in order to keep in companionable mood, and condition with our earnest brother, we might raise our voice, retort in italicized enigmas and intimate that his reiteration of ignorance of socialist attacks

on the American Federation of Labor was evidence either of his imbecility or lack of veracity. But the better way, we know, is to keep on coolly smoking our cigar, silently trying to analyze the operations of our zealous brother's curious mind, and then to produce in confirmation of our assertions what seems to us to be further incontrovertible facts. For example, to bring forth some of the freshest: The May number of the International Socialist Review, in its leading article, has these points in summing up: "The American Federation of Labor can not command enough money to support the strikes now on." * * * The workers * * * are learning by experience that the American Federation of Labor is a dying institution." In describing a lively debate in Brooklyn on "Craft vs. Industrial Unionism," a correspondent of the Call says of the socialist debater: "He took up nearly all the labor leaders, from Gompers down, and showed by 'documentary proof' (to quote a favorite expression of a once notorious would-be leader) that they had sold and misled the workers time after time." The Milwaukee Journal reports Mr. Victor Berger as explaining on a recent occasion some points in socialist politics. "In this country," he said, "our party is not as strong as it should be—because Gompers, Mitchell, and the leaders of the American Federation of Labor are owned, body and soul, by the Carnegie, Schwab and Civic Federation millionaires and trust mag-

nates." As if to rebuke this sort of talk, a special writer in the Call, March 21, wrote: "Some of the ablest and truest men in the labor movement have been denounced by irresponsible socialists and trade unionists as fakirs, rogues and grafters." In the Milwaukee Social Democratic Herald, the editor has recently spoken of the political arm of labor organizations in this country as weak and the economic arm as paralyzed. A correspondent of the Call, speaking of ourselves especially, wrote, the other day: "We can expect any kind of statement from the hot-air merchants that peddle the votes of organized labor from one political party to another for a mere mess of pottage." A socialist gets the text for a three-column article in the Cleveland Citizen by saying of our letters from Europe: "According to Mr. Gompers the

socialists of Europe are pessimists and a stumbling block in the way of measures for bettering the present lot of the workers"—which to our mind is the very utmost reverse of our belief, observations and assertions, with regard to the socialists' purely political work. Occasionally, during the moments when we lapse from that state of mind in which we pay no attention to our friendly socialist critics and glance over what the ginger-boys are saying about us to amuse themselves, we feel that the game of correcting, explaining, and putting the facts as we see them, in reply to any of our lively and chatty socialist admirers, is hardly worth the candle. We feel like saying to them all, as did Mr. Robert Hunter last month to the readers of the Call, after his comrade critics had badgered him past endurance "We won't write for you any more."

UNIFY, NOT VILLIFY.

Organized labor, in the main, is quite familiar with the Electrical controversy, known as the Reid-McNulty fight. Suffice to state, then, that the American Federation of Labor decided to recognize what is now known as the McNulty organization. This it did after a thorough investigation.

Several State Federations of Labor saw fit to question the right and justice of "the strike order" against the Reid faction.

The American Federation of Labor held that when a central body or a State Federation seated the Reid faction, their charters would be subject to recall.

The Ohio Federation of Labor saw fit at its last session to ignore and override the American Federation of Labor. There was a division, and out of that division came the Ohio State Federation of Labor, duly chartererd by the American Federation of Labor.

This organization selected officers whose unionism has never been questioned, and whose ability and standing in the world of endeavor is second to none.

Since the formation of the regularly chartered Federation, more or less has been said by the men who were opposed to the principles of the American Federation of Labor. They have gone further than that.

Not content with practically splitting and dividing the organized labor movement in the Buckeye State, they are and have been resorting to person villification and abuse.

One of their strongest pleas, shortly after the regrettable occurrence, was to the effect that every endeavor should be

made to bring together into one concrete organization those elements which had obeyed the American Federation of Labor and those who would not and did not obey the "strike order."

How have the seceders kept their promise?

In not a single instance have they shown that their words were but an empty and specious jest. With the officers of the seceding organization, it seems that the tail should wag the dog.

Those who would have us believe that they were for a unification and a solidarity of movement, stoop to the veriest personal villification in an endeavor to bolster up their stand. They would have the employer know, and rest most assuredly that he does, that they have accomplished much to aid the manufacturers' associations. They have rent organized labor in a measure, in the Buckeye State, by dividing them upon a question which was passed upon and decided by the American Federation of Labor.

Quite as far as the circulation of one or two papers goes, it is safe to say that not many people outside of a few union disrupters, find much to gloat over, or waste their time upon.

Some of those who plead for harmony in the "irregular" state labor movement, might well have cause to think before they condemn.

The "irregular" Ohio State Federation of Labor assumes to take all the credit for all legislation favorable to the workers of Ohio, passed by the last legislature. It goes a step further, and says that one or two certain individuals were the ones to whom all credit should be given.

A more absurd and specious statement never emanated from any man. Organized labor in the Buckeye State worked as a unit upon legislation that would prove beneficial to the worker. The regular Ohio State Federation did nobly, when it is considered that it had to depend upon personal sacrifices to fight labor's battles. It went still further. It has absolutely refrained from attacking those who refused to obey the "strike" order of the American Federation of Labor.

Those men have talked and preached harmony. They have made a bold play to the galleries for "peace and harmony."

How have they kept their word?

They have made good with inuendoes and villifications. They have gone so far as to practically offer up their adherents to the will and pleasure of the enemy—the unscrupulous employer.

The Chronicle has refrained from denouncing any one particular set of men. It has felt that united front in Ohio by the forces of organized labor was to be desired above all things. It has advocated the principles of the American Federation of Labor without fear or favor. It stands today for that which spells success—united we stand, divided we fall. It stands for that kind of unitedness which would bring all warring forces upon a common ground. It stands upon a united movement in this grand and glorious commonwealth. It stands upon that principle that brothers enlisted in a common fight should not and can not war among themselves. It takes the stand that when the Ohio Federation of Labor assembles in Hamilton upon October 10, 1910, every man who is a true trades unionist will be there, and do his utmost to take away from our enemies that which has proven a sweet morsel during the past year, and that is—division in the ranks of organized labor.

Organized labor, and by this is meant the rank and file, is entitled to a solid

front and united action. It does not care for a personal abuse and villification administration. It is entitled to those things which has made it what it is, and those things which all men love—honesty of purpose, honesty in deeds, and a forward movement, which knows nothing about the personal aims and objects of individuals, but a concerted movement against the enemy.

You pleaded harmony; your promised allegiance; why, then, should you strive to still further widen the breach?

The regular Ohio State Federation of Labor desires a united body; it desires a unification of the forces of labor, but it keenly recognizes that harmony can not be brought about by personal attacks and the villification of the men chosen to look over its destinies.

Come to Hamilton; forget self aggrandizement, and organized labor and our posterity will have cause to credit the organized labor movement in Ohio with being true to its precepts.—Cincinnati Chronicle.

Don't think yourself a censor for the silly human flock,
And just remember as you go that any fool can knock.
Don't laugh at those who make mistakes and stumble by the way,
For you are apt to follow them—and almost any day;
Don't think the others shifting sand, while you are solid rock,
And don't forget, for heaven's sake, that any fool can knock.
Don't be a puller down of fame on other men conferred,
Don't give a parting kick to one who fell because he erred.
Don't think that you are perfect and the only size in stock;
And now once more, just bear in mind that any fool can knock.

—Exchange.

WHOLESALE PRICES, 1890, TO MARCH, 1910.

The annual report on wholesale prices just published by the Bureau of Labor, Department of Commerce and Labor, in Bulletin No. 87, shows that wholesale prices in 1909, as measured by the 257 commodities included in its recent investigation, advanced 3 per cent over the wholesale prices in 1908, but, with this advance, they were still 2.3 per cent below the average of 1907, the year of highest prices within the period 1890 to 1909.

Wholesale prices in 1909 were 14.5 per cent higher than in 1900; 41 per cent

higher than in 1897, the year of the lowest prices from 1890 to 1909; 12 per cent higher than in 1890; and 26.5 per cent higher than the average price for the ten years 1890 to 1899.

The highest point reached in 1907 was in October, from which month there was a general decline until August, 1908. Beginning with September, 1908, there has been a monthly increase without a break up to March, 1910. Wholesale prices in March, 1910, were higher than at any time in the preceding twenty years, being

7.5 per cent higher than in March, 1909, 10.2 per cent higher than in August, 1908, 21.1 per cent higher than the average yearly price of 1900, 49.2 per cent higher than the average yearly price of 1897, and 33.8 per cent higher than the average price for the ten years 1890 to 1899.

Of the 257 articles for which wholesale prices were obtained, 125 showed an increase in the average price for 1909 as compared with 1908, 31 showed no change, and 101 showed a decrease.

Of the nine groups under which the commodities are classified, six showed an increase in price in 1909 as compared with 1908, the largest percentage of increase being in farm products, namely, 15.00 per cent. Lumber and building materials increased 4.0 per cent, food, etc., 3.4 per cent, cloths and clothing 2.3 per cent, and drugs and chemicals 1.8 per cent, while the miscellaneous group increased 5.0 per cent. The three groups in which the wholesale prices decreased were house furnishing goods 2.0 per cent, fuel and lighting 1.1 per cent, and metals and implements 0.5 per cent.

The average wholesale price of raw commodities for 1909 was 9.0 per cent higher than in 1908, while in March, 1910, it was 15.5 per cent higher than the average for 1908 and 5.9 per cent higher than the average for 1909. The average wholesale price of manufactured commodities for 1909 was 1.4 per cent higher than for 1908, and in March, 1910, it was 7.2 per cent higher than the average for 1908 and 5.7 per cent higher than the average for

1909; the March, 1910, price also showed an increase of 1.0 per cent over January, 1910, and of 0.8 per cent over February, 1910.

Among the articles showing marked increases in price in 1909 were choice to extra steers, which increased 24 per cent from February to November; cotton, which advanced 59.2 per cent from January to December; heavy hogs, 36.7 per cent from January to December; light hogs, 36.9 per cent from January to December; hops, 204 per cent from January to November; Elgin creamery butter, 36.9 per cent from May to December; dairy butter, 52.9 per cent from March to December; winter wheat flour, 44.2 per cent from January to June; lard, 37.3 per cent from February to December; short clear bacon, 46 per cent from February to December; short rib bacon, 46.4 per cent from February to December; milk, 88.9 per cent from June to December; coke, 81 per cent from June to October; rubber, 71.9 per cent from February to October.

Of the decreases in prices within the year 1909 the most noticeable are as follows: Oats declined 33.4 per cent from May to October; wheat, 23.1 per cent from May to September; spring wheat flour, 19.4 per cent from June to September; and glucose, 34.4 per cent from September to December.

The following statement shows the movement of wholesale prices of raw and manufactured commodities and of all the commodities considered during the twenty years, 1890 to 1909:

RELATIVE WHOLESALE PRICES OF RAW AND MANUFACTURED COMMODITIES AND OF ALL COMMODITIES CONSIDERED, 1890 TO 1909.
[Average price for 1890-1899—100.0.]

Year.	Relative Wholesale Price.			Year.	Relative Wholesale Price.		
	Raw commodities.	Manufactured commodities.	All commodities.		Raw commodities.	Manufactured commodities.	All commodities.
1890.....	115.0	112.3	112.9	1900.....	111.9	110.2	110.5
1891.....	116.3	110.6	111.7	1901.....	114.4	107.9	108.5
1892.....	107.9	105.6	106.1	1902.....	122.4	110.6	112.9
1893.....	104.4	105.9	105.6	1903.....	122.7	111.5	113.6
1894.....	93.2	96.8	96.1	1904.....	119.7	111.3	113.0
1895.....	91.7	94.0	93.6	1905.....	121.2	114.6	115.9
1896.....	84.0	91.9	90.4	1906.....	126.5	121.6	122.5
1897.....	87.6	90.1	89.7	1907.....	133.4	128.6	129.5
1898.....	94.0	93.3	93.4	1908.....	125.5	122.2	122.8
1899.....	105.9	100.7	101.7	1909.....	136.8	123.9	126.5

In the following statement is shown, by months, the movement of wholesale prices for each group and for all commodities considered from January, 1909, to March, 1910:

RELATIVE WHOLESALE PRICES OF COMMODITIES FOR EACH MONTH,
JANUARY, 1909, TO MARCH, 1910.

[Average price for 1890-1899—100.0.]

Date.	Farm products.	Food, etc.	Cloths and clothing.	Fuel and lighting.	Metals and implements
1909.					
January	138.5	122.6	116.1	131.7	126.1
February	141.7	122.9	116.5	130.0	124.4
March	147.5	123.8	116.7	128.9	122.6
April	149.7	125.1	116.7	126.3	121.8
May	156.4	126.5	117.0	126.2	121.3
June	155.7	126.5	117.5	126.0	121.6
July	153.3	126.7	119.5	127.3	122.3
August	149.6	125.1	121.0	126.5	123.5
September	151.4	128.0	121.3	128.5	125.8
October	158.4	125.4	122.6	133.9	128.1
November	164.3	127.4	124.5	133.5	129.3
December	169.2	129.0	125.2	133.5	130.6
Average, 1909.....	153.1	124.7	119.6	129.3	124.8

1910.					
January	169.4	129.1	127.2	131.1	129.7
February	175.1	128.2	126.9	130.3	129.3
March	181.0	130.9	126.3	130.3	128.9

Date.	Lumber and building materials.	Drugs and chemicals.	House furnishing goods.	Miscellaneous.	All commodities.
1909.					
January	137.4	112.2	114.5	117.1	124.
February	137.8	110.9	113.7	117.9	124.0
March	136.1	110.6	113.1	124.0	124.5
April	135.8	110.3	113.1	122.3	124.6
May	135.7	109.5	113.1	124.4	125.4
June	135.5	110.5	110.8	126.4	125.5
July	135.3	111.8	110.8	126.7	126.2
August	136.8	111.7	110.8	130.6	126.4
September	141.3	112.9	110.7	128.7	128.1
October	140.6	114.7	109.9	130.8	129.0
November	143.5	116.3	109.8	131.1	130.9
December	145.0	117.2	109.8	131.4	132.2
Average, 1909.....	138.4	112.4	111.7	125.9	126.5
1910.					
January	149.3	116.7	109.1	131.8	132.8
February	151.5	116.8	109.7	130.6	133.0
March	151.3	116.4	109.7	132.2	133.8

In addition to the article on Wholesale Prices, Bulletin 87 contains interesting statistics regarding prices of wheat, bread, wine, meat, butter, and rice in Milan, Italy, from 1801 to 1908, also a summary of a report on "Cost of Living of the Working Classes in the Principal Industrial Towns of Belgium." In regard to wages and hours of labor, an article is presented entitled, "Wages and Hours of Labor of Union Carpenters in the United States and in English-Speaking Foreign Countries," and a summary of a report on "Earnings and Hours of Labor in British Building and Woodworking Trades."

TUBERCULOSIS, A BURDEN TO THE POOR.

(By Sherman C. Kingsley, Superintendent, Chicago Relief and Aid Society.)

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NOTE.—The following interesting article is drawn from a paper which Mr. Kingsley read before the Sixth International Congress on Tuberculosis.

* * *

This paper will deal only with workingmen's families—men whose normal wages range anywhere from nine to eighteen dollars a week. When all goes well, these families manage to get along without the intervention of charity. When, however, any considerable misfortune or disaster overtakes them, they are compelled to seek assistance from charitable agencies.

From necessity, the expenses of these families are kept down to the lowest possible amount. According to the man's skill, industry and physical ability, he seeks out the best neighborhood and the best tenement he can afford. The food and clothing of the family are seldom all that could be desired, and when there is sickness, financial depression, or idleness, there is retrenchment bordering on privation.

These people are accustomed to hard, exhausting, laborious work. They make light of physical pain. Both men and women often force themselves to their tasks when their physical condition is not fit to assume the burden. Since one visit from the physician costs one day's wages or more, a physician is called only in cases of absolute necessity. This outlay cuts into the sum set aside for rent, or into what it is hoped will buy shoes or clothes. Colds and coughs are considered of little account. This neglect is responsible for serious infractions on health, on the part both of the children and of the parents. It is not that the parents are thoughtless or careless, but that their income is so limited that they shrink from avoidable expenditure. These are only a few of the hardships and consequences of living on an income that is exhausted by the barest necessities.

Often tuberculosis is far advanced when discovered among these people. They find it difficult merely to take the time from their employment to visit a dispensary, or to go to a physician's office. They must report regularly, or their job is menaced. They are not able to do many kinds of work, and the only resource for maintaining the family seems to be to hold on to this particular work.

The infected man goes to his employment day after day, cherishing a delusion of mingled hope and fear. He believes it

will soon wear off, and vaguely hopes that he will be better soon. Not infrequently he fears the worst, but having no relief in sight, he will not seek advice, but prefers to go on as long as he can hold out, rather than face the consequences. This means that the disease runs on, and he is doomed before he faces his possible helpers. The only chance this man has of having the disease treated with any success is that it should be discovered in its incipiency.

As often as otherwise, a man does not come to the attention of the tuberculosis committee or the physician until he is already forced from work. Immediately the financial needs of the family have advanced tremendously, while the income has been, perhaps, absolutely cut off. The average number of rooms occupied by such families in our large cities is about three and a half. These rooms are in tenements, in congested districts, where the milk supply and other food stuffs are not of the best. They are in factory regions, where both smoke and dust are more prevalent. Immediately there is a need for more rooms, in order that too many members of the family may not be forced to occupy the same room with the tuberculous patient. More and better food is perhaps ordered; the patient needs a porch, or at least a window facing the air and light. Perhaps the wife has already begun washing and scrubbing, or waiting on tables. It is more than a child's task to care for the patient, and the mother is required to devote much of her time and energy, night and day, to the sufferer. This, with the loss of sleep and care of the children, renders the situation particularly dangerous to her. During the late stages, two adults are practically kept from remunerative employment. Thus the situation drags on through the long, exhausting course of the disease.

The chapter of consequences is a long and gloomy one. The children will be forced to leave school at the earliest possible moment allowed by the law, and many of the women break down under the strain. No one knows how many of the children will become infected before their struggles are over. In a paper read before the last meeting of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, Dr. Theodore B. Sachs, head of the Sanatorium Department of the Chicago Tuberculosis Institute, gave the results of an examination of the children in 150 such families. From 25 to 30 per cent of the children of these families had positive signs of tuberculosis infection. Dr. Ethan A. Gray, head of the dispensary department of the Chicago Tuber-

culosis institute, finds a similar situation among the children of those families examined thus far under his department.

Among the great needs made apparent by these conditions are hospitals for advanced cases. These hospitals must more and more gain the confidence of the people. They must be an answer for the situation that will satisfy not only the families of the afflicted persons, but the conscience of the community. In many localities the community itself will not stand for enforced removal of cases to the tuberculosis hospital as it is now conducted. The conditions in poor homes are exceedingly favorable for fostering and spreading the disease. There is a gradual weakening of the physical resistance of the family through privation and care, and the enforced congestion finishes the work.

Secondly, there should be a large increase in the possibilities of care in sanatoriums. Every day discovers fathers and mothers who could be saved if there were \$50, \$200 or \$500 to expend in their behalf. Without intervention, they must be lost to their children and to their community. Left to themselves, death is certain. We are as much interested in the present generation as in any equal number of persons to be born at any time in the future. From \$10 to \$20 a week, usually more than the entire income of the family, is now required in most sanatoriums, and in many places there is no such resource at all. The success of home treatment, under the direction of the increasing army of skilled physicians, the church class, the day camps, is encourag-

ing enough to foster and increase such agencies.

Thirdly, the crusade against this disease is creating a new conscience. Bad tenements, unsanitary buildings, ill-ventilated places of employment, and health-menacing occupations are now seen and known in their true light by an increasing army of skilled physicians, by the growing host of social workers, by the press, and more and more by the general public. More and more this body of people is watching the patient as he returns from the sanatorium, the disease arrested, the body strong, courage restored. They are following these people from the healthful surroundings that have led to this restoration, to the alleys, basement homes, alcove rooms; to the ill-ventilated places of employment; and they are finding that here is the secret of disappointment following sanatorium treatment.

These conditions help to produce tuberculosis in normal people. The sanatorium, the day camp, and the church class cannot expect to render these people proof against impossible conditions. Physicians and social workers are becoming thoroughly conscious of the deadly effects of bad conditions. These weakest members of society are at last finding a host of helpers. The burden of these conditions has become a matter of conscience with this professional host, and it is their business to see to it that the whole body of people shares that consciousness and that conscience.

The result of this should be fit living conditions and a chance for a normal life for every man, woman and child.

THE SUCCESS OF TRADE UNIONS.

The success of the trade union movement depends largely upon its ability to educate its membership to the importance, yea, to the necessity, of paying a rate of dues and a per capita tax sufficiently high to enable its executive officers to prosecute with vigor and determination the campaigns and the struggles they are from time to time called upon to wage, in order that the conditions under which their membership at times are forced to labor are changed for their betterment and that of society in general. The attitude of some organizations on the question of higher dues is not easily understood when the demands they are constantly making on their Internationals are considered. It has been quite noticeable in our conventions that resolutions innumerable are offered in favor of the increase of all benefits, but

little or no thought is given to the increase of the per capita tax to the International to meet the additional cost of the benefits.

If the proper financial support to our Internationals is lacking, then, like other organizations or institutions, its progress is impeded. The membership at large apparently forget that increased benefits suggests increased revenue to their International. This order must prevail because in the first instance Internationals are undoubtedly paying the benefits which experience has taught it could pay on the revenue received. This being true, it is but natural to assume that to grant any additional benefits must of necessity require higher dues to meet the increased demands on the treasury.

The question has often been asked why is it that organizations do not or are not

willing to pay back into their international treasures a larger portion of the interest they receive on their investments, for it has been long since conceded that membership in a labor organization is a business proposition pure and simple; this being true, it is but natural to suppose that if the capitalization of our organization (like the corporation) is increased that improvements can be made that will increase the benefits of the members, and will in turn give them a greater return for the money invested. The position that the members of organized labor take towards their locals when so many benefits have come to them through it, is beyond explanation. How zealous they are to be punctual in attendance at the meetings of their other affiliations, ever ready to make any sacrifice to become an officer; dues, assessments, contributions, all have their charm and none of which call forth the murmurings or objections that are so usual and pronounced in our trades organizations. Little thought is given to the fountain of organization, little time is given to its work and few aspire to office, but in the end it must provide that which makes it possible for us to affiliate with other organizations. It should be our first thought and our first duty to contribute liberally to its support and to attend regularly the meetings and to see to it that its affairs are properly administered, and to assist and encourage the officers we have by our votes chosen to lead and to care for our interests. Labor must be more solicitous for its own welfare to the exclusion of all others, and must not expect to receive benefits gratis any more than they would expect to receive a consignment of goods free of charge from any one of our charitable corporations.

If it could be truthfully said that the organization of labor has not improved the standing of its members, both financially and morally, and had not made for them a better and more agreeable state of livelihood and employment, then it would be useless to argue in favor of increasing the investment, but there is not one man who has been a member of his trade union for a period of time that can honestly and truthfully say that he has not received a greater return on the money he paid into his union than he or his friends have ever received in return for an equal amount invested in any other business proposition. Why should it, therefore, be necessary to urge the men of labor to return to their organization a larger share of the profits, when the fact is conclusive that the trade unionist's greatest asset is his membership in his organization, and through which his interests are best protected and his mere existence changed to a decent and comfortable living. It will provide the means whereby his children will have the op-

portunity to develop their bodies as well as their intellect, thereby preparing and equipping them to meet the struggles of life. Some men would, however, argue that the improved conditions were simply the result of and in accordance with the natural development of things, but the man that is true to himself knows different; he knows what he was receiving in return for his labor previous to his admission into his trades union; he knows what the conditions of his employment were (not roseate), and he also knows that his individual dissatisfaction with his conditions of employment was of little or no moment to the capricious employer. That he was in a sense shackled and left to the tender mercies of his benefactor, keeper and sympathizer. No conception of what might be obtained and what the future has in store for the membership of our organizations can be foretold if the proper financial support were given to our internationals. Reflect for a moment upon the accomplishments of our organizations, will any one dispute that the organization is not responsible for at least a twenty-five cent increase in wages per day or an increase of \$77.25 per year, on an average yearly expenditure of less than \$12.00 per year, which is the average dues paid by the membership of the International Metal Trades organizations, to say nothing of other concessions which are in a measure equally as beneficial to the members. If the income of the international was doubled, it would not be unreasonable to expect that within a reasonable period of time that many additional and substantial benefits would be forthcoming.

The membership are as a rule, conscious of the great work that is being done, and are appreciative of it, but what is most necessary is to provide the munitions of war so that we can be prepared to move on short notice. It is and has been evident to all that the intentions and aspirations of some of our Internationals have often been saddened by the lack of the necessary equipment and preparedness for battle, when a small additional amount would not only give encouragement to the entire membership but would stay off suffering and privation during the time of trouble, it would influence the employer whose heart has been too often gladdened when dissatisfaction and discontent arose among his employees over a condition of employment he desired to impose, because of his knowledge of the financial condition of their organization.

If the future policies of our organizations are to be progressive and the best results are to be obtained an effort should be begun at once to create a uniformity of dues, per capita tax and strike benefits among the affiliated Internationals of

this department. The possibility of joint action in the future makes it necessary that an equal amount of revenue be received by our affiliations and that an equal amount of benefits be paid to the membership when united action has been declared.

There are many changes to be made to support this form of organization to make it effective and the first and most essential one is that those organizations, now paying the lower dues, be increased at least to conform to those that have adopted a higher rate of dues.

TRIAL BY JUDGE AND JURY.

BY HON. HENRY CLAY CALDWELL,

Former United States Circuit Judge, Presiding Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit.

Reduced to its last analysis the intelligent and impartial administration of justice is all there is of a free government. It is the public justice that holds the community together. It is to the courts that all must look for the protection of their liberty, person, property and reputation.

The judicial department is not commonly regarded as the popular department of the government, but it is, in fact, the people's department; the department in the administration of which the people have a greater concern than in any other. It is the only department which comes home to them and deals with them in all the relations of life, from their birth to their death, and with their heirs and estates after their death; and it is the only department in the direct administration of which they have a constitutional right to participate. No apology, therefore, is offered for the subject of this paper, "Trial by Judge and Jury." While some aspects of the subject are trite, there are others of surpassing interest which are neither trite nor settled. By the term "trial by judge and jury" is implied a trial which takes place before a judge and jury—a trial in which the judge is commonly, though not in all cases, the exclusive judge of the law, and the jury the exclusive judge of the facts, and in some cases of the law also, and it comprehends besides the right of the citizen to have that kind of a trial.

It has been remarked that the judges—particularly the Federal judges—who have recently addressed bar associations, have very generally made the defense and commendation of judges their theme. There has been a conspicuous absence of any commendation of the jury. A paper on a somewhat different line will break the monotony if it has not other merit.

From an old law book on the British constitution, printed more than two hundred years ago, this extract is made:

"By the laws of King *Ethelred*, it is apparent that juries were in use many years

before the Conquest; and they are, as it were, *incorporated with our constitution, being the most valuable part of it*; for without them no man's life can be impeached (unless by Parliament) and no one's liberty or property ought to be taken from him."

The italics are in the book. In the judgment of Englishmen, the right of trial by jury continues to this day to be the most valuable right secured to them by their constitution. All Englishmen acquainted with the history of their country know that it is not to the opinions of the judges, but to the verdicts of juries who courageously and firmly stood out against the judges, that they owe their most precious rights and liberties. The right of the people to assemble for lawful purposes and the right to address them when they were assembled, the right of free speech and the freedom of the press, and the right of petition for the redress of grievances, were secured to the English people by English juries over the vehement protest of the judges.

Peremptory charges, browbeating, censures, fines and imprisonment were the weapons used by the judges to coerce juries to render verdicts conformable to their views; but happily for England, and for America, too, the love of liberty, courage, and endurance of English juries finally triumphed over despotic power and its servile judges.

In view of the actual experience of the English people with judges and juries, it is not surprising that her greatest statesmen and lawyers have expressed their preference for trial by jury in the strongest terms. Let the brief utterances of two or three of them be quoted. Lord Commissioner Maynard declared: "Trial by jury is the subject's birthright and inheritance as his lands are, and without which he is not sure to keep them or anything else. This way of trial is his fence and protection against all frauds and surprises and against all storms of power." And that great constitutional lawyer, Lord Camden, said: "Trial by

jury is indeed the foundation of our free constitution; take that away and the whole fabric will soon moulder into dust." Lord Erskine took for his motto, which he had inscribed on his family shield and crest, "Trial by Jury." In an English law book, printed a century and a half ago, the author declares:

"One of the most valuable branches of our laws is that which relates to juries, whose antiquity is beyond the reach of record or history; they have the same area with our constitution, which can not survive them, our liberty must expire with them, as the animal body with its most vital parts. Our ancestors were too prudent to trust such great concerns (liberty and property) in the hands of any officers appointed by the crown, *or of any certain number of men during life*, lest they should be influenced or awed by great men, or corrupted by bribes, flattery, or love of power.

"The uncertainty of who shall be jurors on any inquisition or trial, and the little time they continue in that office, are strong barriers against corruption; but when we consider also the impartiality required and enforced in returning juries, and the properties which the law requires in every juryman when returned, we may almost doubt whether human wisdom is capable of providing a more perfect method of determining the truth of facts, consistent with the liberties of a free people. At least we may conclude that it has not hitherto done it."

A few of the cases in which the juries triumphed over the judges, and in which their verdicts have become foundation stones of the British constitution, may be seen by reference to 22 American Law Review and in the dissenting opinion in Hopkins vs. Oxley State Company.

Passing from England to our own country, we find that the King's judges in the colonies were as hostile to the rights and liberties of the people as their brethren in England. But a part, and the best part, of the inheritance of the colonies was the right of trial by jury, and fortunately colonial juries were imbued with the love of liberty and splendid courage and independence that characterized the English juries.

It is an interesting historical fact that despotic power and official oppression received its first check in the colonies at the hands of a New York jury. The blow was a staggering one. It was the entering wedge to freedom which later was driven home. William Crosby was the governor of New York in 1734. In the administration of his office he was unscrupulous, avaricious, and arbitrary. The New York Weekly Journal, a paper established to defend the cause of liberty against arbitrary power, exposed his official corruption and oppression. For this its publisher, John Peter Zenger,

"may his tribe increase," was thrown into prison and a criminal information filed against him by the Attorney General for libeling the Governor and other colonial officers. History tells us the case excited intense interest, not in New York only, but in other colonies, for it involved the vital issue of the liberty of speech and of the press, without which the people of the colonies could not hope to be free. The case was brought on for trial before Chief Justice De Lancy, whose first act was to disbar Zenger's counsel for questioning the validity of the judge's commission. Zenger's friends then sent to Philadelphia for Andrew Hamilton, one of the foremost lawyers of his time, who came on to New York to defend him. Zenger entered a plea of not guilty, admitted the publication of the alleged libel, and justified it by asserting its truth. A jury was impaneled to try the case. The Chief Justice refused to permit the defendant to prove the truth of the publication, and charged the jury that it was libelous, and that it was their duty to return a verdict of guilty. The jury retired and soon returned with a verdict of "Not guilty." The verdict electrified the country. Gouverneur Morris, one of the ablest and most sagacious statesmen of the Revolutionary period, dated American liberty not from the Stamp Act of 1765, nor yet from the "Boston Tea Party," but from the verdict of the jury in Zenger's case. The rendition of this verdict constituted the immortalizing moment of those men's lives, and is the richest heritage of their descendants. If the names of these twelve patriots were at hand they would appear here. Their names should go down in history with those of the foremost patriots of the Revolution. This historic incident would not be complete without adding that the people bore Zenger's lawyer Hamilton, out of the court room on their shoulders, and that the Common Council of New York gave him the freedom of the city in a gold box for his gratuitous services in "defense of the rights of mankind and the liberty of the press."

When the framers of the Declaration of Independence came to make a formal statement of the grievances of the colonists against King George, one of the chief counts of the indictment was "for depriving them in many cases of the benefit of trial by jury." While trial by jury was an undoubted heritage of the people of this country, they were unwilling that such a supreme and vital right should rest on the unwritten or common law. They were stern and inflexible in their demand that the right should be anchored in the Constitution in terms so explicit and peremptory as to make any evasion or denial of it impossible, except by overthrowing the Constitution itself.

When the several provisions of the Constitution are read in connection we are amazed at their fullness and completeness. No more resolute and inexorable purpose to accomplish a particular end ever found expression on paper. They will bear repeating—indeed, they can not be repeated too often:

"The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury;" "No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger;" "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury;" "In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved." These mandatory provisions of the Constitution are not obsolete, and are not to be evaded or nullified by mustering against them a little horde of equity maxims and obsolete precedents which had their origin in a monarchial government having no written Constitution. No reasoning and no precedents can avail to deprive the citizen accused of crime of his right to a jury trial guaranteed to him by the provisions of the Constitution, "except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war, or of public danger." These exceptions serve to emphasize the right and to demonstrate that it is absolute and unqualified both in criminal and civil suits, save in the excepted cases. These constitutional guaranties are not to be swept aside by an equitable invention which turns crime into a contempt and confers on a judge the power to frame an extended criminal code of his own, making innocent acts crimes punishable by fine or imprisonment without limit, at his discretion.

No extended discussion of what has been appropriately termed government by injunction or judicial government, can be indulged in this paper. The fact, however, that it is a device by which the citizen is deprived of the right of trial by jury, calls for a few brief observations.

The modern writ of injunction is used for purposes which bear no more resemblance to the uses of the ancient writ of that name than the milky way bears to the sun. Formerly it was used to conserve the property in dispute between private litigants, but in modern times it has taken the place of the police powers of the state and nation. It enforces and restrains with equal facility the criminal laws of the state and nation. With it the judge not only restrains and punishes the commission of crimes defined by statute,

but he proceeds to frame a criminal code of his own, as extended as he sees proper, by which various acts, innocent in law and morals, are made criminal; such as standing, walking, or marching on the public highway, or talking, speaking or preaching, and other like acts, in proceedings for contempt for an alleged violation of the injunction the judge is the lawmaker, the injured party, the prosecutor, the judge and the jury. It is not surprising that uniting in himself all these characters he is commonly able to obtain a conviction. While the penalty which the judge can inflict by direct sentence for a violation of his code is fine or imprisonment, limited only by his discretion, capital punishment may be inflicted by indirection. All that seems to be necessary to this end is to issue a writ to the marshal or sheriff commanding him to prevent a violation of the judge's code, and then the men with injunction nooses around their necks may be quickly dispatched if they attempt to march across this injunction deadline. It is said the judge does not punish for a violation of the statutory offense, but only for a violation of his order prohibiting the commission of the statutory offense. Such reasoning as this is what Carlyle calls "logical cobwebbery." The web is not strong enough to deprive the smallest insect of its liberty, much less an American citizen.

The extent and use of this powerful writ finds its only limitation in that unknown quantity called judicial discretion, touching which Lord Camden, one of England's greatest constitutional lawyers, said: "The discretion of a judge is the law of tyrants; it is always unknown; it is different in different men; it is casual and depends upon constitution, temper, and passion. In the best it is oftentimes caprice; in the worst it is every crime, folly and passion to which human nature is liable." Mr. Burke pointed out the danger of investing "any sort of men" with jurisdiction limited only by their discretion. He said: "The spirit of any sort of men is not a fit rule for deciding on the bounds of their jurisdiction; first, because it is different in different men and even different in the same at different times, and can never become the proper directing line of law; and next because it is not reason, but feeling, and when once it is irritated, it is not apt to confine itself within its proper limits."

A jurisdiction that is not required to stop somewhere, will stop nowhere.

Professor Baird says fish have no maturity, but continue to grow until they die. This curious characteristic of fish is present in a very intensified form in the equitable octopus called injunction, for that has no maturity and never dies,

and its jurisdiction grows and extends perpetually and unceasingly.

It attacks and nullifies state laws upon pure questions of fact which it refuses to submit to a jury. The validity of state statutes regulating the rates of transportation turn on the question whether the prescribed rates are reasonable. This is purely a question of fact which ought to be determined by a jury in all cases. But when the statute confers on an officer or board the power to fix rates, the question of the reasonableness of the rates so fixed is never submitted to a jury, but through the instrumentality of a writ of injunction against the state officer or board who fixed the rates a judge takes jurisdiction of the facts as well as the law of the case, and proceeds to decide this pure question of fact. The legislature of a neighboring state, perceiving the futility of trying to regulate rates through any officer or board of the state who could be reached by a writ of injunction, hit upon the expedient of fixing the passenger rates by statute and giving to persons who were charged more than the prescribed rates, a right of action at law to recover a penalty from the common carrier. A common carrier charged more than the prescribed rates and the passenger brought suit for the penalty, and the jury found the rate prescribed by the legislature was reasonable. The case was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, and what was there said is full of significance. After referring to the fact that where the rates were prescribed by an officer or board, the officer or board could be enjoined from enforcing them, the court said:

"But there are other cases, and the present is one where the legislatures choose to act directly on the subject by themselves establishing a tariff of rates and prescribing penalties. In such cases

there is no opportunity to resort to a compendious remedy, such as a proceeding in equity, because there is no public functionary or commission which can be made to respond."

In other words, which can be enjoined, and hence no way of escaping a jury trial. A similar statute in another state was also upheld through the verdict of a jury. The Arkansas and Michigan cases will probably be the last of their kind. When another case arises under a similar statute, a way will doubtless be found to apply the "compendious" remedy spoken of by Mr. Justice Shiras in the Gill case. All that is necessary to accomplish this result is for this equitable octopus to put forth an additional sucker and draw the case within its folds.

The history of this question is not without interest. It was first held that the determination of the question whether the rates prescribed for common carriers were reasonable was a judicial and not a legislative function, and was one upon which the common carrier was entitled to have its day in court and a jury trial.

But as soon as the jurisdiction was assumed, the carrier no longer clamored for a jury trial, but quickly sought the arms of a Federal chancellor and the protecting shield of an injunction. The right of 70,000,000 of people to a jury trial of this question of fact, in which they are so deeply interested, and the correct determination of which is so vital to the public welfare, is not esteemed worthy of consideration; but through the medium of a writ of injunction is committed forever to nine men, or a majority of them who hold their offices by appointment for life and not one of whom sees or hears a single witness who testifies in the case.

(To be continued.)

HIS LAST GAME OF POKER.

The grinding of the brakes told us the overland limited was gradually coming to a stop, and the genuine thrill of delight was manifest on the faces of the few who stepped aboard that night.

The limited is not usually late, but to-night she was almost an hour, and must go some to make up for lost time.

Every coach was crowded, and as we wended our way through the aisles to the Pullman, we felt the swaying and rocking of the train as each extra pound of coal was added to make more and more time.

We reached the Pullman, which was crowded—except a single seat already oc-

cupied by three men, apparently strangers to each other. My companion, whom I had met on the station platform, that waiting hour, was a well built, athletic youth, of about 25 years, with anything of the quiet, yet determined look, of one who had character behind him, if faces speak.

We were about to pass the section where the party of three were seated, when one of them, a stout, rather good looking, spectacled man under forty, stepped up to my acquaintance and asked him if he would take a hand of whist. Wishing to complete the party and to enjoy a passing hour, he said yes.

I stood by, and without thinking there was to be anything of unusual interest, watched the play and players.

Without apparent reason, I was mentally weighing the four, and particularly the one of extra weight.

The whist hand was ended, when the stout party suggested hearts, which was agreed to by the newcomer, he saying, however, that he hardly knew the game.

The hands had been played, and as each counted out, it was found my acquaintance had the least and the others then paid out to him a quarter for each heart. This seemed to surprise him, and he said again he hardly knew the game, and did not think it was for money, but made no further objection. After another hand, the stout party suggested a game of poker, and my acquaintance said he hardly knew the game, but rather than disappoint them, he would play. As the game proceeded, it was indeed evident he was a novice. He won the first few pots, and then came some unexpected excitement. The stout party was first to get a hand on the next deal. He opened it for \$1 and the party on his left raised him \$2, the next player raised \$5, and my acquaintance, who was the dealer, looked at his own cards. It was evident to me that he was excited, and I could see a sudden quickening of the eyes. He said, I raise it five more, and the stout party raised him \$5; party on his left raised it \$5 more, and the third party dropped out, and then my friend was embarrassed, as he asked how long could the raising go on. They told him as long as it was up to him. He then met the raise, and cards were asked. Stout man didn't want any; other party wanted two, while the dealer took one.

In the meantime the party who dropped out was taking and holding the raises, and the bets, which were bills, and rolling them into a tight wad.

The betting went on and on until the obliging young novice had all his money up, and then asked what he should do. Well, he called, and on the show down the stout party had four aces to his four kings, and the other had three queens, yet he had dealt the cards himself.

I noticed the gleam of disappointment come into his eyes and a snicker in the face of the stout party. He who was holding the roll passed it over to the stout one.

Of a sudden the novice said, "I think you gents fleeced me, and I want my money back." Jumping up in the car he grabbed the stout party by the coat with both hands, and said: "You cheated me out of my money, and I want it back."

You are a bunch of sharks." Then there was a commotion. The stout party said he'd do all kinds of things, etc. Called him a welcher and what not.

With a sudden movement the novice jerked the bell cord again and again and the roaring express gradually came to a stop. The conductor rushed up and asked who pulled the cord, and then had a noisy fit when told the cause. He threatened to send for the police, but gave the signal for the train to start.

Meantime the stout party was getting uneasy, as the crowded Pullman was breathlessly watching, and the women were scared.

Suddenly the stout party said to the novice, "You come out on the platform." The other said, "No; I want my hundred dollars, and I am going to get it, too." The other said, "You didn't have a hundred," and the other insisted he had put a hundred up. "Well," said the stout one, "You come out here and give me a receipt and get your money back."

The novice seemed rather doubtful about going out, so then I mixed in for the first time, as I had been watching them with great interest. I said, "I will go with you and be a witness that the money was returned." So it was agreed.

While all this going on, the companions who were accomplices had gone to the forward car. We went to the vestibule of the Pullman, and the stout one handed over bills in amount of \$100, with the expression that would stampede a whole W. C. T. U. convention.

Novice got his \$100 and disappeared to some other part of the train.

As the train slowed up at an intermediate station, the stout one got off, and that was the last I saw of him or his companions.

But at Chicago, when the train pulled in, the novice came out from the rear car, and to all appearances slightly limping as though his foot was injured. He noticed me watching him and then came up to me. Looked around to see if any one was within hearing, then said, "It was a narrow escape for me. I had \$50, and it was all in that pot. I felt when the four aces were flashed upon me that they were crooks. My heart was sick at the thought of losing the money, so I made a desperate play to get it back. By mistake, my tongue said I put in \$100, instead of \$50, but I didn't want to correct myself, as I felt I wouldn't get a cent back if I did. But I got it back O. K., and it's all in the bottom of my stocking. It rather hurts, but it feels good at that, but you can bet I've played my first and last game of poker."

CORRESPONDENCE.

Pueblo No. 12.

EDITOR ELECTRICAL WORKER:

At the present writing, No. 12 feels as it has won another point. On May 2 the Traction and Lighting company undertook to work the linemen ten hours for \$3.25. Of course we could not see it. We have been working nine hours for \$3.25 for eight or nine years, so we took our tools and walked out. The company now pays \$3.50 for nine hours. There were three linemen they tried to work ten hours; they did not think they amounted to anything, being so small in number; it was settled, and were back to work in one week, so it is O. K. now. We had several men strike them for work, but turned it down when they found what it was. One of them was James Riley, from St. Louis, card No. 123935 (known as one-eyed Riley). They told him there was no trouble, but he soon found out before he went to work, and said, no, I am not built that way, and, brothers, he did need work. Another man with a withdrawal card was working somewhere and had left his application for work. They sent for him; he got to asking questions; before he went to work, he asked to be excused a few minutes, and found out the job, and said, not me, Mr. Man. His name is T. H. Johnson, out of No. 10, known as Nigger Johnson.

There is work for all that are here at present, but nothing extra yet.

Fraternally,

J. T. PHILLIPS.

Butte No. 65.

EDITOR ELECTRICAL WORKER:

The following resolutions were adopted by Local No. 65:

WHEREAS, It has pleased the Almighty God, in His infinite wisdom, to remove from our midst our esteemed brother, David H. Hamilton; and

WHEREAS, Brother Hamilton, during all the years of his membership in our Local, has always shown himself as fully worthy of the friendship and respect which was extended to him by all the members; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we fittingly record our appreciation of his services as a member

and his merit as a brother; and be it further

Resolved, That we sincerely console in the dispensation of Divine Providence, and that this testimonial of our heartfelt sympathy and sorrow be extended to the relatives of our departed brother; and be it further

Resolved, That we drape our charter for a period of thirty days in memory of our deceased brother; and these resolutions be spread upon our minutes, and a copy be sent to the relatives and a copy to be published in our official journal.

L. MAHER, President.
D. L. WHITE, Rec. Sec.

Los Angeles No. 82.

EDITOR ELECTRICAL WORKER:

At our last regular meeting the following resolutions were adopted on the death of Bro. H. H. Chappin:

WHEREAS, It has pleased Almighty God in His infinite wisdom to remove from our midst our late brother, H. H. Chappin; and

WHEREAS, Because of the fraternal relations held by our deceased brother with the members of this Local, we wish to show our respect and regard for him, and to enter on our records our appreciation of his services as a member and a brother, and his merits as a man; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the removal of such a brother from our midst leaves a vacancy and a shadow that will be deeply felt by all the members, and that this Local, No. 82, tender its sincerest sympathy to the relatives of our deceased brother in their sad affliction; and be it further

Resolved, That our charter be draped for thirty days in testimony of the respect and esteem in which our late brother was held by this Local, and that a copy of these resolutions be spread on the minutes of this Local, and that a copy be sent to his family in their bereavement, and that a copy be sent to the Grand Office and press for publication.

Signed, H. B. SUTTIE.
H. W. COREY,
B. WORKMAN.

San Francisco No. 151.

EDITOR ELECTRICAL WORKER:

In my position as Press Secretary, I desire to let the Brotherhood know the monthly condition of the Electrical Workers in San Francisco. Things are very slow here now, and all the companies are letting out the men every day, and things do not look very bright. The employers are thinking about having a World's Fair here in 1915, but I want to call to every brother's attention that at the present time this is only a little talk, as we have a lot of good men sitting around headquarters.

On June 12 we are going to give a grand picnic across the bay, and expect to see all the Electrical Workers there.

Local No. 151 has affiliated with the California State Federation of Labor, and with the Label Department of the

San Francisco Labor Council, and yours truly is at the present time holding down the vice's chair, and would like to see all the Electrical Workers get busy and start a label to paste on all our fire alarm boxes, call boxes, burglar alarm systems, telephones, and other electrical work, and that would be a warning to the "scab" to get a card, although we are getting them in pretty good now, in fact so good that one company is getting afraid of us, and they are trying to hurt us, but they dare not come out in the open, because we have the matter well in hand.

Well, brothers, as it is getting late, I will close this time. Hoping that the brothers are having good conditions all over the country, I beg to remain for best wishes.

Respectfully and fraternally,
JAMES A. HIMMEL,
Press Secretary.

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